Daily Report

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'Blunders' of U.S. Ambassadors Viewed

AU1810185893 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Oct 93 p 8

[Commentary by Plamen Enchev: "Blunders Labeled 'Made in the U.S.A.'"]

[Text] Diplomacy is a delicate matter. It is much easier to write about the blunders of East African diplomats than those of a great power such as the United States. Obviously, lately the American friends have had bad luck in Bulgaria. Soon we will mark the fourth anniversary of 10 November 1989. Many U.S. diplomats have demonstrated their abilities in Bulgaria during that period. In addition to some positive developments in bilateral relations, their mandates will also be remembered for several not very diplomatic events.

On 7 June 1990, U.S. Ambassador Sol Polansky took part in the greatest preelection rally of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and greeted the participants from the rostrum. The participants chanted "SDS" and "U.S.A." Nevertheless, the SDS lost the elections. Polansky was reprimanded and sent to Blagoevgrad to manage the Board of Directors of the American University there. Hugh Kenneth Hill came to Bulgaria. During his service in Bulgaria President Zhelev invited U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle to visit. At a presidential—public—rally, Quayle flashed the V-sign. The people again chanted "U.S.A." and "SDS." This was after the SDS election victory, described as "small, but forever." Rivers of U.S. corn were headed for Bulgaria. Later it became known that the money received from the sale of the corn was intended for the Blagoevgrad American University.

During the same period a well-known former poet counted the KGB stars on the shoulder boards of Russian ambassador Sharapov. Just a few days ago a 2-meter-tall former fencer [Business Bloc leader George Ganchev] counted the stars on Ambassador Hill's shoulder boards. CIA Director Woolsey then came to Bulgaria, while Colonel Hill packed his things and left for the NATO center in Garmisch Partenkirchen. Then the chief of Russian Intelligence, Academician Primakov, came to Bulgaria.

Between those visits there were also small quarrels with various geography teachers and U.S. diplomats who visited Yakoruda [town in Blagoevgrad region 30 km northeast of Razlog] and made statements on geography and other issues.

Among other things there also was the case of the U.S. diplomat who was denied entrance at the SDS Second National Conference in the Vitosha Hotel.

Now the "Montgomery" scandal is on the agenda. Answering questions at the U.S. Senate's Foreign Affairs Commission, he said that he will work toward amending the Bulgarian Constitution. More precisely, he said that he will work toward allowing the existence of political parties based on ethnicity—Turkish, Macedonian, and so forth. [Business Party leader] Valentin Mollov said concerning this that the best outcome would be if REUTER says that it has incorrectly quoted the ambassador. However, this is not what Bulgarian politicians and plain citizens think.

It would not be very sophisticated if the new U.S. ambassador's mandate were to begin with a blunder. It would be best to admit the blunder. So Ambassador Montgomery should apologize, and only then will everything proceed smoothly. After all, it is not East Africa we are talking about, but the United States of America. This is a great power that—willingly or not—small and independent Bulgaria must take into consideration.

U.S. Delegation Delivers Clinton Letter to Zhelev

AU1810204393 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 18 (BTA)—"We look forward to further strengthening U.S.-Bulgarian business ties which contribute to the economic well-being of both our countries and enhance the friendship between the people of the United States and Bulgaria," U.S. President Bill Clinton writes in a letter to Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev. The letter was handed over to Prime Minister Lyuben Berov by Mr. Christopher Finn, executive vice president of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), here today.

Mr. Finn is leading an investment mission to Bulgaria organized and sponsored by OPIC. The mission is composed of business executives of about 20 leading U.S. companies.

At their meeting with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, the investment mission participants were interested in the legislation providing protection for foreign investments. The questions posed by the American businessmen concerned mainly the progress of mass privatization in general and the tenders for the privatization of large enterprises in particular.

According to OPIC representatives, the investment projects of American companies for Bulgaria received at the corporation total 300 million U.S. dollars.

Today the American businessmen familiarized themselves with the economic situation in Bulgaria and the possibilities for investment. They had meetings with representatives of the Privatization Agency, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Industry, the government's Foreign Investment Committee and the Bulgarian Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

The American business executives presented their companies and specified the sectors of Bulgaria's economy they are interested in: Energy, shelf-prospecting for oil and gas, electronics, environment, telecommunications, transport, transfer of technologies, agriculture, insurance.

Tomorrow the U.S. delegation will have meetings with Bulgarian businessmen.

Social Package Adopted as Unemployment Increases

AU1810211493 Sofia BTA in English 1944 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 18 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers approved today a package of social bills—On Social Security of the Unemployed and Employment Encouragement, On Health Insurance and on Setting Up a Health Security Fund.

The Bill on Social Security During Unemployment, moved by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Evgeni Matinchev, is particularly topical because of the large number of unemployed in this country who now exceed 600,000 (almost 16 percent of the active population). The document regulates the relations between the state, the employers and individuals in cases of unemployment. The document points to the National Council for Employment and Occupational Training as the permanent tripartite body for coordinating employment programmes and measures. The bill pays special attention to issues related to financing social security during unemployment. It provides for the setting up of an Occupational Training and Unemployment Fund as a fund, independent from the national budget. The bill has been approved by the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation but the social partners made additional remarks to some of its texts.

The allocation of social security funds from the national budget and their separation into an independent fund is the most important condition in establishing an up-to-date social security system, according to Deputy Prime Minister Matinchev. That was his motive for moving a bill on setting up a health insurance fund regulating the two forms of state and public insurance—obligatory and voluntary. It provides for the fund to be raised from a wide circle of sources—insurance payments, payments from the national budget, fines, donations, interests, dividends, etc., and for the exemption of its incomes from taxation. The authors of the bill provide for the fund to be managed by a national insurance institute which would be an independent juristic person.

The Health Insurance Bill adopted by the cabinet was the most contested of the three documents approved today. It is based on the principles of compulsory insurance of all citizens, universal accessibility to medical aid, autonomy of the Health Insurance Fund and competition among the performers of medical services. The bill provides for the establishment of a system for raising funds and payment of all types of medical services. It is aimed at guaranteeing the right to choose the performer of the medical service. The bill covers all Bulgarian nationals and foreigners of permanent residence in this country. Apart from the insured, the bill also covers their dependents.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria did not approve this bill. According to the experts of the confederation, the bill has considerable shortcomings. They believe that its introduction would result in social tension and chaos. But nevertheless the prevailing opinion was that the passing of such an act brooks no delay and that certain changes will have to be made "on the run."

Karabashev To Seek Expanded Trade in Israel

AU1710191793 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 17 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 17 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev left for Israel today to attend the first session of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Israeli Commission for Trade, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. The visit aims to create conditions for stepping up economic cooperation and for an increase in Bulgarian exports.

At the meetings we will discuss draft agreements on the avoidance of double taxation and investment protection and a project for a free trade zone, Mr. Karabashev said.

The documents will be ratified during President Zhelev's visit to Israel in December, national radio said. Agreements in the field of merchant shipping, agriculture and foreign trade are also expected to be signed.

The Bulgarian delegation includes deputy ministers for foreign affairs, health care, agriculture, trade and construction. Thirty-two businessmen and industrial managers also left for Israel.

Many Israeli companies show interest in the privatization of Bulgarian enterprises and I hope talks with them will continue, Mr. Karabashev said.

Democratic Party Supreme Council Meeting Ends

AU1710213593 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 17 Oct 93

[Text] On 17 October the two-day meeting in Pleven of the Democratic Party Supreme Council ended. Our correspondent Tsetska Nikolova reports:

[Nikolova] After discussing the urgent political problems of our country, the situation within the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], and the place and role of the Democratic Party in the coalition, the Supreme Council adopted a declaration that expresses concern with the creeping recommunization, supported until now by the president and the government.

The Democratic Party thinks that the solution to the economic destruction and the impoverishment of the Bulgarian population can be found in applying the principle of market social economy.

The Supreme Council opposes the establishment of new structures of the civil committee-type and thinks that the supporters' clubs could unite the anticommunist forces.

The meeting also discussed organizational issues. Georgi Markov and Professor Aleksandur Orakhovats were dismissed from the leadership. New members of the Central Bureau were elected.

Mr. Stefan Savov, Democratic Party chairman, described the meeting's work in the following manner:

[Begin Savov recording] I am pleased with our meeting because it confirmed, first of all, a conclusion that we repeatedly made in the last two to three years, namely that the Democratic Party is a real party and not an embryo party. It is a party that has supporters and members who think in the same manner. This is a real party. [end recording]

BSP's Videnov Assesses Rule by SDS

AU1810210793 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 13 Oct 93 p 2

[Article by Zhan Videnov, Bulgarian Socialist Party leader: "Union of Democratic Forces' Policy Failed Along Two Lines"]

[Text] I think that during its rule the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] failed along two lines: First, it failed in the restoration concept of the transition implemented in Bulgaria, which the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] tried to impose despite its preelection promises. Second, the SDS formula of leadership, based on confrontation, hegemony, and the extreme politicization of every public issue, also failed. This of course does not mean a triumph for the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] or for anyone else. If I must forecast the third year after the elections I hope that the real alternatives will be formed of the transition that is implemented in Bulgaria, and that the Bulgarian voters will be able to select one of them in a democratic and prudent manner.

Since I have been an active participant in the BSP's political activity during the relevant period, I cannot assess this activity in any way. Others, who do not participate in this activity, should be the ones to do so.

Klaus Affirms European Need for U.S. Involvement

AU1410195093 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 9 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Tomas Smrcek; place and date not given: "Europe Lacks U.S. Decisiveness"]

[Text] [Smrcek] Do you have genuine opponents and critics in the government and the Civic Democratic Party? If so, do they say openly why they do not agree with you?

[Klaus] If you mean people whose opinions are diametrically different from ours, then I have to say that there are no such people in the government or the Civic Democratic Party. However, if we have a discussion on the railway bill, the Agrarian Chamber, or the jurisdiction of the regional self-administrative units, it becomes patently obvious that our opinions differ greatly. However, we can always reach a consensus that may be very different from our original opinions. This is a most natural way for people to behave, and this is the way we behave in the government and in the Civic Democratic Party.

[Smrcek] What about the former Civic Democratic Party deputies in the federal parliament?

[Klaus] The problem with the federal deputies is over. Time helped solve it. The federal deputies' trauma, caused by the fact that they are not important politicians any longer, is understandable. I was not happy at all when the federal parliament was dissolved. I was a deputy in that parliament. Everyone knows that I had difficult times when I was moving, for several weeks, between the Czech and the federal parliaments trying to find a solution to the situation and to reconcile both parliaments. It is not my fault that I did not succeed.

[Smrcek] What do you think about the idea that we, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Austria, and Slovenia should become the first candidates for NATO membership?

[Klaus] We cannot imagine security in Europe, and in our region, being ensured without our NATO membership. We are against any third ways [allusion to terminology used by reform communists] and against more and more institutions being constantly established. If there is NATO and CSCE, then I do not see any reason why we should establish a new conference on security—as proposed by French Prime Minister Balladur—without abolishing the others.

I am in favor of joining NATO because my orientation is transatlantic. This means that I believe the U.S. presence in Europe to be politically and ideologically important. In the United States, they stress their liberal system, freedom, and free market much more than we do in Europe. Moreover, I welcome the U.S. presence in Europe because of what I call the American lifestyle. American spontaneity, decisiveness, optimism, and pragmatism are things that we do not see in Europe, in our country in particular.

[Smrcek] Speaking of American decisiveness: War-torn Bosnia is facing yet another winter. Should Europe do something?

[Klaus] I would be lying if I said that I knew how to solve the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A solution brought from outside would certainly be bad. There has to be an internal solution. Having been through the Czechoslovak division process, I am against dividing up such a small country as Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it seems that there is no other way. I also believe that no one should abuse the situation in order to solve their own problems to the detriment of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If anyone tries to interfere in Bosnia in order to protect his own interests—that is, to exert their own influence in the Balkans, or an Islamic influence in Europe—then a solution will never be found.

[Smrcek] Do you believe that Europe could do more?

[Klaus] Yes, Europe could do more. Or, it could have done less— particularly during Yugoslavia's disintegration, Europe should have been more reluctant to recognize the successor states.

Sees No Threat From Russia

AU1810163993 Prague CTK in English 2315 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] New York, Oct 14 (CTK)—The Czech Republic and other Central European countries can play a part in solving the crisis in Russia by showing that transition to a market economy is possible, U.S. representative to the United Nations and member of the U.S. government, Madeleine Albright, told Czech journalists in New York after her talks with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, who is on a two-day visit in America.

Albright said that Central European countries could also be useful in helping the West understand what was happening in Russia. Klaus agreed, saying that it was interesting for the United States to know that the Czech Republic considered were the steps which Russia had yet to make, and that the Czech Republic, as a country undergoing transformation, had an understandably greater knowledge of the process than a country which had never experienced anything similar.

Klaus said that all the Americans he met today were interested in whether the Czech Republic felt affected by developments in Russia. He had stressed that his government did not believe that in the short term the country's security or its economic interests were threatened. In the long term, it was in the Czech interest, but above all in the interest of Russia, that a solution was found to the situation there.

In the interview, which she gave in Czech, Albright said that for her as someone who was born in Czechoslovakia it was very important to know how things were going at home.

For the West - if it can still be called that - it is important that we all understand the meaning of good contacts with Prague, because there are good and interesting things going on there, she said.

She pointed out that American Presidential Adviser for Security Issues Anthony Lake had talked of the need to broaden the belt of democracy and the market economy. We used to talk about keeping communism in check—now it is the expansion of democracy and the market economy, she said.

Concerning the various opinions on the ensuring of European security and in particular the security of the countries of Central Europe, Albright said it was clear that mutual contacts had to be improved. It was not yet clear what form this would take, but it could become clear at the January summit of the North Atlantic Alliance. Klaus said that the Czech Republic was among the countries which supported the participation of the United States in European safety. This it did both out of security and defense reasons, and out of political interest and interest in the American attitude to life, their openness, practicality and decisiveness, which should serve as an example.

President Havel on Talks With Chancellor Kohl

LD1610191893 Prague CTK in English 1519 GMT 16 Oct 93

[Text] Lany, Central Bohemia, Oct 16 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel told journalists today that he had agreed with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that NATO should build a sort of relationship based on association agreement with Russia.

Havel paid a one-day private visit to Kohl's native Rheinland on October 15.

Havel said that Kohl believed that the forthcoming NATO summit, scheduled for January 1994, should give the signal that NATO did not want to close itself to Central european countries.

It is clear that immediate admission (to NATO) is impossible...it is more a political vision, a prospect, Havel said.

Havel said that Kohl was aware of the importance of the compensation of Czech citizens (who were victims of Nazi regime), as a goodwill act. He said that Kohl had explained him certain political entailments of such a compensation.

Havel, as he informed journalists, had told kohl that the czech Republic was under a certain amount of time pressure, as the people involved were elderly, and therefore it was necessary to act promptly. Settlement of the issue will contribute to good Czech-German relations, Havel added.

Havel stressed that Germany was not making the acceleration of the humanitarian compensation of Czech victims of Nazism conditional on the settlement of the controversial question of launching a dialogue between the Czech Republic and representatives of Sudeten Germans.

Havel said he had explained to Kohl Czech worries about the emergence of certain German claims, which were not without nationalist and arrogant elements. Such voices slow down the building of good long-term relations between us Germany and the Czech Republic, Havel stressed.

He quoted Kohl as saying that it was necessary to hold informal, non-institutionalised talks on all levels, between all layers and groups on both sides. Kohl said he considered this necessary for removing bias, Havel added. He said that Kohl would welcome the futher and even more intensive continuation of such all-round dialogue.

He Kohl emphasised that good relations, mainly with poland and the Czech republic, are important for Germany, Havel said.

Havel said he Kohl had accepted his invitation to visit his cottage at Hradecek, North Bohemia.

He said he considered his Friday talks with Kohl confidential private ones on various topics. He said he became aware that Chancellor Helmut Kohl is a real convinced European, who views the uniting of Europe not as the building of monstrous centralist supra-state, but as the creation of an area where the previous ceaseless confrontations will end.

Havel quoted Kohl as saying that both the European Community and NATO should open to the Czech Republic as early as possible.

He explained to journalists that before his German visit on Friday, he had met with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec to discuss Czech-German relations and their prospects. It is clear to each of us that we must act as a self-reliable, equal partner, Havel added.

The programme of Havel's German visit was kept secret beforehand, which led to speculations as to who was its initiator. Referring to these doubts, Havel said today that Kohl had invited him as early as May, and for precisely October 15. It is Kohl's custom to invite foreign partners for informal talks at his home, and to show them round his residence, Havel said.

Disagreements Between Havel, Cabinet Viewed

AU1810092193 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 93 p 1

["Column" by Robert Dengler: "The President's Place"]

[Text] Two key ministers—[Foreign Affairs Minister] Zieleniec and [Defense Minister] Baudys—made it clear that they had not been acquainted beforehand with the text of President Havel's speech on Tuesday on joining NATO. The foreign minister agrees with the president on the necessity of the Czechs attempting to take care of their own security, for instance, and preparing themselves on the commitment, if needed, to make even the ultimate sacrifice for foreign citizens. Despite his unequivocal partiality for NATO, Josef Zieleniec had shown a certain disparity of views with the president, and his rush to join the alliance, by stating that forming such a commitment is a matter of bilateral trust and that the Czech Republic has had bad experiences of such commitments.

Indications of certain disagreements between the Castle [President Havel] and the government—that is Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus—have transpired again recently. Vaclav Klaus apparently hurt the president when he pragmatically described the Council of Europe summit—at which Havel spoke as the head of the Czech Republic delegation on European integration—as a meeting from which nothing more is to be expected than political statements with noble but hard-to-realize goals. Havel, on the other hand, clearly stated in Vienna last Friday [8 October] that the Czech Republic is ready to do everything in its power to enable the Council of Europe to play a key role in the European integration. The president also intends to devote himself more to the Sudeten [German] problem than Minister Zieleniec, on the other hand, unequivocally described, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Munich [Treaty], as a politically closed chapter of the past. Everything indicates that this was one of the topics on the agenda at the confidential meeting prior to Havel's trip to visit [German Chancellor] Kohl. Is this just a "difference in emphasis?" After all, it would be difficult to call this just a difference in diplomatic rhetorics as it concerns vital national interests.

As far as I know, the president should consult his foreign political activities with the government. If for no other reasons, then because his legitimacy is derived from the parliamentary election of the head of the state and not, for instance, from a direct election by the citizens. Thus, Vaclav Benda is probably right in his claim that the Czech Republic seems to be a country with two or three foreign policies. Of course, the authentic foreign policy is drafted and guaranteed by the government. The president is then—it seems—occasionally put in his place by Klaus or Zieleniec (both Civic Democratic Party).

Greens Say Environment Ministry 'Paralyzed'

AU1810163893 Prague CTK in English 1644 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, (CTK)—The Environment Ministry, under the leadership of Frantisek Benda, has essentially become a paralyzed institution. One might dare to call Benda's actions anti-ecological, Svatopluk Nemecek, a member of the Moravian and Silesian Regional Committee of the Green Party, told journalists today.

He criticized the attitude of the Czech Government and the greater part of the parliament, to urgent environmental problems, an attitude which he said could be called dismissive at the least. He said he believed it was a result of the government's preferring the values of the consumer society, which believed that the meaning of human existence was the piling up of material goods. This attitude, Nemecek said, was essentially only deepening the moral devastation of society further.

Nemecek said even the government's manifesto had devoted only minimal attention to the environment, and that the government did not have a clear and purposeful plan to deal with environmental problems. He also pointed to this year's 25 percent cut in the budget for the environment, and to the fact that the government had not put forward a single environmental bill this year.

Giving the coalition parties school marks from one down to five for their interest in the environment, Committee Chairman Roman Haken said the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) deserved a two minus, while the other parties, with fours and fives, did far worse.

The Moravian and Silesian branch wants the Green Party to call a congress before the end of October, at which the branch would propose that the party left the Liberal and Social Union (LSU), Haken said, adding that they did not want to leave because of any noticeable disagreement with other LSU members, but were merely interested in being an independent political force.

U.S. Experts Investigate Use of Nerve Gas

LD1510205993 Prague CTK in English 2038 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Text] Prague, Oct 15 (CTK)—Three U.S. military experts have come to the Czech Republic in the course of an investigation into whether nerve gas was used by Saddam Husayn during the Gulf War, the Czech Defence Ministry said today.

The ministry gave no further information.

U.S. Senator Donald Riegle called for an investigation a month ago when announcing there was evidence to suggest that some U.S. military units had been exposed to a low level chemical attack.

Riegle referred to the statement made by the Czech Defence Minister Antonin Baudys in July to the effect

that a Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit had detected traces of Sarin nerve gas at the start of the war.

The House of Representatives investigated the health complaints many American Gulf veterans made, even though Baudys had originally stated the Sarin was detected in amounts not harmful to health.

Today's Czech press claims that the Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit also measured traces of Yperit, another gas used in chemical warfare.

The press reports that the American experts, allegedly chemical unit soldiers attached to the research institute of the U.S. Defense Department, left Prague today.

Meciar on Possible Accord With Opposition

AU1610181793 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 14 Oct 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "Political Reconciliation Is Inevitable; Vladimir Meciar: The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Is Prepared To Cooperate"]

[Text] Bratislava—"The integrity of the territory of the Slovak Republic and the transformation of the economic and social system and state administration—those are the priorities regarding Slovakia's state interests in the domestic policy sphere," Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said yesterday after the fifth "Table of National Accord," which was held in Bratislava on the initiative of the Slovak Heritage Foundation.

Having successfully mastered the problems associated with the founding of a new state and having achieved the international acceptance of this state, the government now has to take steps to resolve the domestic problems. Prime Minister Meciar considers political reconciliation to be the fundamental condition for this. One of the ways of achieving this is negotiations with political partners. In this context, he stressed the readiness of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to cooperate with political partners on various levels.

Speaking about the priorities of the Slovak Republic's foreign policy, he mentioned the ratification of the European Agreement on the Slovak Republic's Association With the EC, the resolution of the issue of the Slovak Republic's integration into Western security systems, and guarantees for the Slovak Republic's free development. He said that he would discuss the above topics with NATO representatives on 10 January 1994.

"As for the composition of today's talks, we met at the usual place and in the traditional lineup—that is, the Christian Democratic Movement and the Hungarian parties did not show up. We are getting used to their lack of interest in dialogue at this level," Vladimir Meciar said. He stressed that today the HZDS demonstrated its will to negotiate, as well as the contents and the bounds, within which the movement would be ready to operate. It expects its political partners to display the same attitude.

SDSS Views on HZDS, SNS Coalition

AU1910071693 Prague CTK in English 1944 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Banska Bystrica, central Slovakia, Oct 14 (CTK)—The Social Democratic Party of Slovakia (SDSS) is convinced that early elections are the answer to the deadlocked political scene in Slovakia, SDSS First Deputy Jaroslav Volf said at a press conference today.

An election would speed up the process of political definition within the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS). It would also help to make the democratic right a reasonable and compact bloc, which is what Slovakia in his view needed.

Moreover, a social democratic tendency would then come into being, comprised of the SDSS and the Democratic Left Party (SDL). These parties, according to Volf, would cooperate with small to medium-sized businesses and the unions. He said the unions were the SDSS's close partners as regards political program and the party felt that a representative of the unions should be the government member responsible for the social sphere.

Volf attributed the current political situation to the attempt to preserve a one-party government at any cost. The result was political instability, he said. But stability was not to be gained by a partial or complete coalition between the HZDS and the SNS.

Owing to the unclear political profile of the HZDS and the SNS, the parties did not have any reliable foreign partners, which, he said, are crucial to a governing party's stability.

The SDSS expects that within a month or two a social democratic element could emerge from the HZDS. There was nothing to prevent Rudolf Filkus, former ambassador to Austria who was expelled from the HZDS recently, from manifesting his social democratic orientation formally, Volf said. It was, however, Filkus's decision whether and when he joined the SDSS, he added.

Fur: Hungary Wants No 'Forcible' Border Changes

LD1810091193 Budapest MTI in English 0831 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, October 17 (MTI)—Hungary does not aim at forcible border changes and regards the peaceful means of negotiations as the only way to settle possible conflicts, Defence Minister Lajos Fur wrote in a letter to the two-day conference of the Transylvanian Federation.

The meeting, attended by representatives from neighbouring countries, ethnic Hungarian organizations, ended in Eger, northern Hungary, on Sunday.

Fur believes that as Hungarians forced to live in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and other countries are state-forming factors, they have a right to territorial autonomy at places where they form a majority, in keeping with the local government principle, and to autonomy of personal basis where they live in minority. For this reason, the aim for ethnic Hungarians should the broadest possible autonomy.

Since Hungarian communities outside of Hungary are constituents of the country in which they live but also have their own national identity, the notion of minority is not applicable to them, Transylvanian Federation President Agoston Szekelyhidi told reporters after the conference.

He said they had proposed that multinational countries use the term democratic law-governed state instead of nation-state in their constitutions.

The conference ended with an appeal to Hungarians all over the world stressing that in the new Europe, all nations, including Hungarians, are entitled to fully assert their national rights.

The appeal calls for increasing Hungarian communities' economic capabilities, because they can preserve their identity and exercise their rights only on a stable economic foundation.

Conservative Party Chairman Views Prospects

AU1510200393 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Oct 93 p 5

[Interview with Conservative Party Chairman Laszlo Csizmadia by Sara Szeli; place and date not given: "The Election Chances Are Unequal"]

[Text] An old-new party led by Laszlo Csizmadia was born in March 1993, a party whose main program is the revival of the Hungarian economy and the creation of social peace, and all this coupled with the principles of expediency. This is not yet the election program; the election program is expected to emerge at the end of November. The members of the Conservative Party will regard it as an achievement if the party makes it into Parliament during the elections in 1994. We asked the new chairman about this and about further plans.

[Szeli] What are the major issues for your party at the moment?

[Csizmadia] Economic stability and the creation of an effective economic structure by 1996 at the latest are the most urgent tasks facing Hungary. It is true, however, that we are talking about a budget deficit today, and our hard currency incomes are not adequate either. The biggest problem, however, is the destruction of Hungarian agriculture. Agriculture plays the most important role in our program. We are seeking a solution by settling the budget law and by financing the agricultural activity in accordance with the law. Regaining our Eastern markets is a very important task, but this is an extremely complex issue, because it is impossible to leave politics out in the course of negotiations. We must find the methods that can calm down our "Eastern" contacts. Our goal is to make the economy rely on several pillars, and I mean by this that we must simultaneously create a Western-oriented market and an Eastern-oriented market, consolidate the economy based on private property, and conclude privatization, compensation, and their possible revision. Another important goal is to increase the budget and credit support for Hungarian agriculture and to protect Hungarian goods. We are convinced that Hungarian goods are of a good quality. I must also mention the importance of village tourism, because there are great opportunities hidden in the wonderful regions of small villages. We need a family-centered social insurance. We must encourage the accumulation of private property and the systematic development of opportunities for young people starting their careers; all this will ensure a calm and peaceful old age. We are also dealing with the restructuring of our banking system, and our major goal is a constitutional activity based on consensus, the protection of the modern bourgeois values, and the support of new generational development based on these values.

[Szeli] What is your opinion about the activity of the trade unions?

[Csizmadia] Trade unions are needed all over the world. Social peace, especially in a poor country like Hungary, can only be maintained if the trade unions get into an adequate contact with both the employees' side and the employers' side. It would be a big mistake to disregard these factors. Instead, the trade unions should be urged to find steady contacts with the employers.

[Szeli] How are you preparing for the elections?

[Csizmadia] Inequality of chances is the biggest problem for us. We think that the six parliamentary parties have been in power and have been working for the last four years, and this represents a certain advantage for them. Therefore, these parties are trying to bring the non-parliamentary parties into a situation in which they find it more difficult to reach the voters. However, we think that the majority of the current Parliament is wise

enough to wish progress for this country and allow the voters to also listen to the representatives of smaller parties. We want to participate in the elections with 176 candidates.

[Szeli] What makes this party conservative?

[Csizmadia] We conservatives regard the value-creating property as the basis of prosperity and security. We want to participate in political life, but we think the current political life is rude; however, we do not exclude the idea of cooperation with parties that want the good of the nation, because the solution is important for us, and we believe that prosperity in Hungary can only be achieved with the cooperation of excellent professionals.

Young Democrats Fear Internal Disunity

AU1910091093 Budapest MTI in English 1918 GMT 17 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, 17 October (MTI)—The position of Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) Chairman Viktor Orban seems to have strengthened after the Sunday [17 October] election of his supporter, parliamentary deputy Szilard Sasvari, as president the party's Budapest Board.

Orban and Gabor Fodor, one of his deputies and another key figure in the opposition party, have come into conflict, according to recent press reports.

Some say that Orban would like closer links with two of the three ruling coalition parties, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Christian Democratic People's Party, while Fodor regards the FIDESZ as a strictly pragmatic liberal party.

Fodor announced he would run for party chairman at a national board meeting in late October.

Parliamentary deputy Jozsef Szajer, who sides with Orban and was also nominated for this post, this week proposed that Fodor and he both withdraw from nomination. Fodor rejected the idea.

Public opinion polls show that members of Hungary's most popular parliamentary party fear a disruption of party unity.

According to many, if Fodor, popular among party members and the general public alike, becomes national board president, a dual power will emerge within the FIDESZ.

Both Orban and Fodor deny they are at odds over relevant questions.

The FIDESZ recently made an electoral pact with the strongest opposition party, the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats, in preparation for parliamentary elections in 1994.

At today's Budapest election, parliamentary deputy Klara Ungar, with views similar to Fodor's, received 18 votes, while Sasvari 36.

Suchocka Tenders Government's Resignation

LD1810134093 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] After her meeting with the president, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka told newsmen.

[Begin Suchocka recording] I tendered my resignation to the president, which was accepted in accordance with the Constitution. The president has asked me to perform my duties until a new government is appointed, because the interim constitution says that the entire government enters office, not the prime minister first and the government later. When the president swears the new government in, my mission will cease.

We discussed the values which unite us. I would like to recall that my government was the Solidarity government, which had a lot in common with the president. We exchanged views on cooperation during the last 15 months. The president emphasized that the cooperation with the government was very good. We also talked about the future of local self-governments and about everything achieved during the past four years and which should not be wasted.

In spite of all propaganda, we managed to do a lot during these four years and my message to the future government, which I repeat constantly, is not to waste the economic growth which started to take shape. There will be no miracles and there is no magic formula for everybody to be well at the same time. Conditions have to be created to really improve people's existence in perspective.

My advice can concern only general principles of the state and I hope they will not be wasted. [end recording]

Pawlak Accepts Resignation

AU1910124493 Warsaw PAP in English 1502 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 18—President Lech Walesa designated Polish Peasant Party (PSL) leader Waldemar Pawlak as the prime minister after he had accepted the resignation of former prime minister Hanna Suchocka and her cabinet earlier on Monday.

The Suchocka Government was in office since July, 11, 1992.

Pawlak's close aide Aleksander Luczak said after the meeting with the president that the names of new cabinet members will be released not sooner than at the Sejm (lower house) meeting on Thursday. Pawlak made no comments at all.

The interim constitution says that the president designates the prime minister and, on his motion, appoints the Council of Ministers within 14 days from the first Sejm (lower house) meeting or from the acceptance of the former cabinet's resignation. The prime minister, within 14 days from being appointed by the president, presents his government's programme to the lower house and requests a vote of confidence. The vote of confidence must be adopted with a simple majority of votes.

After a conversation with President Lech Walesa, which lasted over one hour, Suchocka told journalists that in line with the interim constitution, she had tendered the resignation of herself and her government. She added that the president asked her to continue work as prime minister until a new cabinet is appointed.

"We have exchanged comments on the 15 months of our cooperation," Suchocka said, adding that the president had stressed good cooperation with her government.

Presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski announced that Suchocka had been a prime minister with whom the president had "the best cooperation." Drzycimski added that the president hoped these contacts would continue to preserve the values "for which we fought" and that Suchocka's experience would be instrumental in the further democratization of Poland.

Asked what she wished to the new government, Suchocka replied: "Preserving all that has been achieved so far, that is, the recent prospects for economic growth, for there are no miracle recipes to make all happy at one time."

Pawlak Views New Government, NATO Membership

LD1810200293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Report on a news conference given by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak on 18 October by an unidentified announcer—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] At a news conference tonight, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said that tomorrow he will be starting talks leading to the formation of his cabinet.

[Pawlak] "At the same time, I have asked the [outgoing] prime minister to convey to the ministers, heads of departments, and heads of central offices, my request to present the issues currently pursued by the departments, issues that are in progress, and issues that are important from the point of view of preserving continuity in the running of the state, and also to highlight which issues, according to them, it is important to pick up and pursue in the short-term, and what issues are important in terms of long-term policies.

I think we shall be holding these talks efficiently, and the full composition of the Council of Ministers will be presented for acceptance by the president as quickly as possible. From tomorrow we will begin talks with those candidates who have already been agreed and who are accepted by the coalition, while for certain offices or departments there are several candidates, and here we will still have to hold direct talks with the candidates. I

think they will influence the choice of who will ultimately be proposed for appointments to ministerial posts."

[Announcer] Waldemar Pawlak said he will be consulting with the president the appointments to the Ministries of National Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Internal Affairs, at the same time, denying that Lech Walesa had been putting pressure on as far as appointments to other departments were concerned. The prime minister did not want to reveal today the distribution of ministerial posts within the coalition and the aspiring candidates.

[Pawlak] "I am not going to give any names today, nor a detailed distribution, or balance of forces, since we believe that the forming of the government should, above all, be approached through deciding in favor of those people who are well-trained professionally, and are highly conversant with the range of issues that they are to administer. The final shape of the cabinet is going to depend on reaching a complete agreement, because it may still be so that there will be differences over the personalities and political membership of individual candidates."

[Announcer] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak did not rule out that he could still present the composition of the government and his expose to the Sejm this week.

Foreign journalists were mostly interested in whether the prime minister wanted our state to enter NATO quickly.

[Pawlak] "Poland expressed its view on this quite early. There was even a time when Russia agreed to this membership. Unfortunately NATO did not make use of that opportunity."

[Announcer] According to the prime minister, the Russian military doctrine announced today, that rules out the possibility of Poland's membership in the NATO pact, should not interfere with our joining the pact.

[Pawlak] "That is a Russian defense doctrine." [Laughter]

[Announcer] Waldemar Pawlak announced he will propose that Union of Labor members should join the government.

[Pawlak] "These proposals are going to be made. I think we could even speak of two or three people here."

[Announcer] During the news conference Waldemar Pawlak expressed the view that the state of the nation was worse than presented by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, which was shown, for instance, by the 2 billion dollar deficit in foreign trade that was twice as large as assumed earlier.

According to him, next year's budget deficit should be set at 4.5 percent, which, if necessary, could be increased by 1 percent.

Discusses Formation of Government

LD1810215793 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak by unidentified correspondent in Warsaw on 18 October; Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The first person received by the new prime minister was Jozef Zych, deputy Sejm speaker and chairman of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] Supreme Council. The conversation of the two politicians concerned, among other things, the participation of the PSL in the future government. Jozef Zych told Panorama that the objective was that the prime minister should have a decisive say on what happens in the government.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Aren't you afraid of a label calling you an instrument of the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] or the president?

[Pawlak] One can attach various labels to things. During the election campaign such a labelling language was also used and it did not come to very much. I think that it is primarily our actions which will determine our reputation. It seems to me that this is not a matter for one person only but for the entire government, all the people who will get involved in the government's work, in ministerial positions, and in cooperation with various circles.

[Correspondent] What has been implemented from your previous expose by Hanna Suchocka's government and what things have remained unchanged?

[Pawlak] Let us take for example customs and taxation matters. They have not been put in order during this period of several months. However, it has been possible to create a system of everyday information at voivodship offices. I think that resources were earmarked for undertakings which were not very effective. If these resources had been invested in a customs information system the results would have been a lot more beneficial. We could have balanced our foreign trade much better then and the functioning of the economy would have been much more effective.

[Correspondent] When do you intend to present to the president and the Sejm the composition and program of your government?

[Pawlak] We all want this process to be as brief as possible. However, we also view this situation in another way. It is not the speed factor which should be the most important but a good, solid organization of the entire cabinet and the qualifications of the people who will be part of this government. [end recording]

[Announcer] Pawlak has asked Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to brief him on matters which are being currently pursued by the departments and matters which are important to preserve the continuity of the functioning of the state.

Coalition Talks Continue Over Personnel Issues

WS1810135193 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Oct 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by D.P.: "What the Leaders Talk About"]

[Text] "If I do not cope with this problem, I will tell you then," said Waldemar Pawlak on Sunday [17 October] when asked about difficulties in forming the coalition government. This does not say whether at this stage of forming the government there are any difficulties, per se; however, certain controversies remain between the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL].

Officially, SLD and PSL politicians say that the composition of the government will be decided only after the president designates Waldemar Pawlak as the new prime minister. Unofficially, the talks between the leaders are continuing.

As we were informed by a prominent activist of the coalition parties, there was a meeting on Saturday with Pawlak, [SLD Chairman] Aleksander Kwasniewski, and a "group of their closest cooperators." Those talks were supposed to continue on Sunday. They were about further decisions concerning the filling of ministerial posts as well as the controversies related to it that were not resolved in the coalition agreement. In line with the agreement, Pawlak and Kwasniewski are supposed to make the decisions over personnel. They must decide which economic ministries—finance, foreign economic cooperation, industry and trade, or ownership transformations—will be controlled by PSL.

The party would be most pleased if it could take over the Finance Minister; however, Professor Wladyslaw Szymanski, SLD's possible candidate for finance minister, is not interested in the post. The possibility cannot be ruled out, therefore, that the new finance minister will be Grzegorz Kolodko, who does not belong to any party and who is acceptable to both sides. The leaders must also decide who will fill the deputy prime minister posts. PSL insists that candidates be politically aligned with the coalition members; this would rule out Professor Kolodko as prime minister for economic affairs. If Marek Borowski filled that post, then SLD would have to give up the portfolio of deputy prime minister for socioeconomic affairs for Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, which is not very likely. In such a situation, it is not clear as to what the coalition members will agree: Will they appoint one more deputy prime minister (PSL is against that) or will PSL fill the post of economic prime minister (SLD is against that). It seems that it has already been agreed that Aleksander Luczak, a very close colleague of Pawlak, will head the Office of the Council of Ministers. He held this office when Pawlak was prime minister for the first time.

In the coalition agreement, certain ministries were reserved for experts from outside the SLD-PSL coalition. One of them—the Ministry of Industry—is supposed to be headed by Marek Pol of the Labor Union. Some coalition members interpret this reservation differently: simply put, some ministerial posts, such as in the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will be decided by the president.

On Sunday, Waldemar Pawlak visited a tractor factory in Ursus, which is celebrating its 100th anniversary. He said that he would carry out a different agricultural policy; he pointed out that since 75 percent of land is in private hands, the agricultural sector "does not need such rapid privatization, but a stable policy that would enable peasants to regain their incomes."

Walesa Expresses Agreement With Havel on NATO

LD1810193493 Prague CTK in English 1851 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 18 (CTK)—Polish President Lech Walesa told CTK today he thought that his and Czech President Vaclav Havel's views on the pace of integration of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland into NATO were similar.

He said that Central European countries had to look after their own security. I hope that the West will think about this and that in a not too distant future it will agree with our participation in NATO. I am sure that we can jointly convince the West of the correctness of our concept, Walesa said.

The countries of the Visegrad Group (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland) should promote cooperation in all spheres so that they form a greater force which will have to be taken into consideration, Walesa said.

Each country naturally has its own problems to which it gives preferential treatment. In spite of this, cooperation within Central Europe is easier than with the West or with Poland's one-time partners, Walesa said pointing out that from Warsaw the road to Prague is shorter than to New York.

Moreover, I think that borders should link, not separate us, and therefore it is logical that we must expand our contacts, Walesa said.

He believes that the way of privatisation chosen by Poland is correct, but both privatisation methods, the Polish and the Czech ones, lead to the same goal. It is now difficult to say which method is more effective. Time will give us a reply, Walesa stressed.

The Czech Republic launched privatisation of state-owned enterprises earlier than Poland, in the spring of 1992. Every citizen over 18 is entitled to buy coupons worth a total of 1,000 crowns (about 34 USd [dollars]) and trade them for enterprise assets. In Poland citizens take part in privatisation through investment funds.

Walesa said that during Havel's forthcoming visit to Poland October 21-22, integration into European structures, membership of NATO and promotion of bilateral cooperation would certainly be discussed. Walesa added his views on these questions were similar to Havel's.

Onyszkiewicz on Russian View of NATO Membership

LD1810195693 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] An agreement on military cooperation between Poland and Denmark, which was signed [on 18 October] will serve the consolidation of [Poland's] links with the NATO member states, according to Minister of Defense Janusz Onyszkiewicz. This will facilitate our efforts aimed at joining the structures of this pact.

At a news conference, journalists asked Minister Onyszkiewicz to comment on information from Moscow concerning reservations against Poland's entry into NATO.

[Begin Onyszkiewicz recording] I do not know the draft of the defense doctrine, so I can only give a hypothetical reply. I think that perhaps it is not an appropriate place—I am speaking about the defense doctrine—to voice reservations of this kind. It may be an element of Russian foreign policy. In fact, I think that Russian policy does not put this issue in such unequivocal terms, but we cannot pretend that the important declaration made by President Yeltsin in Warsaw [on 25 August] did not happen. Poland is seen as one of those countries that will probably join NATO in the future; I would like to say that it certainly will join NATO. It is a sovereign decision of NATO and Poland. [end recording]

Ministry To Issue 'White Paper' on 'Rifle Affair'

AU1910102693 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Oct 93 p 3

[Report by "BA, PJW": "'White Paper' Shows Diplomatic Activities"]

[Text] "The massed attacks on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the 'rifle affair' have forced us to act in a very unconventional manner. We have had to publish a 'white paper.' However, this action will have consequences. Maintaining discretion is one of the elements of diplomacy. It is no coincidence that we have not published the documents so far," is what the director of the Department for North and South America told ZYCIE.

The "white paper" on how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs acted in connection with the "rifle affair" will appear on Wednesday. One hundred copies will be published. They will be received by politicians and journalists interested in the affair.

The book will consist of two parts and an introduction.

The first part of the "white paper" will consist of a chronology of events drawn up from the angle of the actions taken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other government institutions with respect to the affair. It will contain all the meetings, notes, letters, diplomatic interventions in Warsaw, Cologne, and Washington. The first part will also include condensed versions of the most important messages sent in code. Such messages cannot be published in full, because of the Law on State Secrecy. The first part will consist of over 40 pages altogether.

In the second part, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will publish several dozen documents, diplomatic notes, notes on talks with diplomats, as well as Ministry reports assessing what progress was being made in the actions taken regarding the "rifle affair."

The first document published will be a note on the arrest of six Poles in Frankfurt am Main on 10 March 1992. The last document will be the verdict delivered by the jury of the New York court on 15 October 1993. The documents will include diplomatic notes issued by the Polish Government, reports on talks held by Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials with the Germans and Americans, "amicus curiae" notes, and the statements delivered by New York lawyer Cahill, who represented the Polish Government, to Judge Nickerson.

Iliescu Discusses Year Since Last Elections

AU1810092393 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 13 Oct 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Valentin Paunescu and Rodica Avram in Bucharest on 11 October: "Nothing Should Stand in the Way of Promoting Our National Interest"]

[Text] [CURIERUL NATIONAL] Mr. President, today, 11 October, you are not only at the end of a difficult working day but also at the end of a year since the last elections. Are you satisfied with the year that has passed since then, personally and in your capacity as Romania's president?

[Iliescu] Of course, there are reasons for satisfaction, as well as reasons for concern and worry. I would, however, like to begin with the moment of national satisfaction that was occasioned by Romania's admittance to the Council of Europe. We have just returned from the Vienna meeting of heads of state and government, which our country attended along with the other members of the councils—altogether 32. I believe that this is a reason for national satisfaction. No one can fail to welcome such a political moment, which marks Romania's joining the ranks of the other countries in the world, so to say. However, I had to notice with sorrow that, even at such a time—which should have been an occasion for satisfaction and the expression of the convergence of opinions, which has actually existed on this matter before—an element of competition arose regarding who has had the greatest merit in this respect. I maintain that it is the merit of all of us. What is important now is not to continue to point to our differences and competitive stances but to express satisfaction at the fact that, through joint efforts, we have managed to overcome the doubts, reservations, and suspicious frequently expressed in connection with our country.

It almost looks like some people are upset about the arrival of this moment. As I said at my meeting with the press in Vienna, I see that even this remark of mine is being distorted and misinterpreted in all ways, only to prove that I have insulted the opposition. This is not true. My first reaction was to welcome Romania's admittance to the Council of Europe as an element of national satisfaction, since it reflects upon the current stage of the Romanian society's evolution. This is in no way a moment of euphoria of the executive power in Bucharest, as some people put it, or a moment of euphoria for the government party, which is thus allegedly assuming the merit for this admittance. Why should one turn even such a moment into a bone of contentment? In response to a question put to me in connection with the delay in admitting Romania to the Council of Europe—why Romania had to wait for three years for such a moment—I quoted the statements made by others: Namely the fact that, when our national interests are at stake, we Romanians do not know how to push our cause in a united front, so to say, although I know that this term is compromised by now. Our friends abroad, politicians, told me that aside from certain lobbies hostile to Romania, even some of our own rubble fellow citizens have added fuel to the fire and did their best to encourage an attitude of distrust and suspicion toward our country. I noticed the reactions of certain correspondents in Vienna: Instead of emphasizing what could have been important for the Romanian public at large, namely the warm welcomed extended to Romania in an international forum, they searched through the Viennese press to find some malevolent comment about our country. I expressed my stupefaction and sorrow for such attitudes.

Coming back to your question, I would like to emphasize that there are also moments of satisfaction, like the one I have already referred to, namely the admittance to the Council of Europe, but there are also other moments of convergence, in my opinion. At one time, someone even pointed this out to me—that there was a general consensus of our political forces over the events in Moscow. Of course, the nuances were different. Even here though, there were some people who tried to distort things as much as possible afterwards. However, I believe that this lucid assessment—that there are moments when it is possible to have a convergence of opinions and actions—is correct. Therefore, I believe that, beyond the natural diversity of opinions, this coexistence and democratic development can offer us opportunities for a cohesion of the political forces in the country. Nothing should stand in the way of promoting our national interest.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] What can you tell us about the domestic situation?

[Iliescu] Regarding the domestic evolution, I would also like to point out certain assessments that I consider incorrect and in dissonance with reality. I particularly have in mind the attempt to accredit the idea of a stagnation in promoting the reform process in our country. Economic reform is a difficult and complicated process. It consists of many elements linked to working out new legislation and new institutional structures, promoting new mechanisms of the market economy, and overcoming the inertia in people's minds. Nevertheless, to claim that everything is stagnating and nothing is being done along the line of reform, that the current government is halting the reform, and that a process of restoration is currently under way, well, I consider all these assumptions incorrect and not in accordance with the prevailing reality.

I believe that in the year that has elapsed since the last elections, we have taken important steps along the road of reform and promoted several key measures, including the most spectacular one of them all—the value-added tax [VAT]. Last June, I happened to be in Switzerland when they were holding a national referendum that rejected the introduction of VAT! We all know how many disputes we had in our own country in connection with this measure. The government, irrespective of the criticism leveled at it for its alleged conservatism, has

assumed the responsibility of promoting this measure, which we all know how difficult it was to assume, a measure that required a lot of preparatory work as well as lots of difficulties to overcome in its implementation. Nevertheless, the results of this measure have led to certain advantages in clarifying the economic relationships between the economic units in our society. The same can be said about the measure of withdrawing subsidies, which was quite painful for many people since it was accompanied by price hikes, which caused quite a few problems. But it was one of the key measures of the reform process. Likewise, a whole number of other measures were also taken regarding financial discipline. All this and many other steps are part and parcel of the strategy of economic reform and the transition toward the market economy, which can facilitate the promotion of measures of macroeconomic and microeconomic restructuring and can also assist the recovery of our economic life.

Therefore, I consider the insidious assessments I have previously alluded to as not being in accordance with reality and I believe that we can say that we have also made several steps along the road of reform this year. This year, we also witnessed the first trends of stopping the decline of industrial enterprises. We have registered a growth—modest, but a growth nevertheless—and not a further collapse of industrial production. We have thus inaugurated a certain trend toward stopping the decline registered for the past three years on end. There are chances that, by the end of the year, the final result and the average annual industrial production should be somewhere around last year's average level, thus putting a halt to the decline of industrial production. In agriculture, there are still certain shortcomings, particularly in the south of the country, as a result of the drought and the failure to use the available irrigation system. We know that the effects of the drought could have been offset by the utilization of the irrigation system. However, the prevailing deregulations in agriculture have played a negative part in this respect. Still, the overall agricultural production this year is better than last year; the same can be said about the people's work, which was incomparably better this year than in 1992. All this is a positive sign for the likely recovery of this sector of the national economy in the coming period. Nevertheless, there are still many hardships in our economic life. Right now, the negative trade deficit is what most affects the national monetary stability, this probably being the most complicated economic problem for us right now. There are certain positive signs in this respect, too, namely the trends to reduce the trade imbalance, which, nevertheless, is still negative on the whole.

There are both positive and negative aspects of our economic life, which can actually make up the component parts of a balance sheet, thus leading to the basic conclusion that steady action should be taken in order to promote the basic elements of the reform process in the future. I believe that this government has come up—for the first time, last February—with a program in this respect. It is for the first time that parliament and public opinion in general have had the opportunity to see the content of economic reform, as well as the component elements of the transition to the market economy: specific restructuring measures for industry, agriculture, and the financial-banking system, as well as other restructuring measures in the fields of privatization, further liberalization of certain aspects of economic activity, and setting up a national social protection system. Therefore, the further promotion of the reform process is the only way to ensure the recovery of the national economy. That is why I believe that the assessments made about a so-called stagnation of the process of reform are inconsistent. However, I consider quite opportune the criticism leveled at the inertia still manifest in the activity of certain bodies especially set up to promote the reform. The criticism made in connection with the privatization pace is also quite pertinent. However, it is not true that nothing has been done in the field of privatization in this period. Since 1 January until now, the State Property Fund [FPS] has privatized some 110 economic units. There is no doubt that this is still very little, compared to the total of 6,000 state enterprises and companies that are envisaged in the Law on Privatization—that is, by the law on the large-scale privatization, as we like to call it.

The National Privatization Agency [ANP] has also done a certain amount of privatization within that experimental system of selling the assets of the existing units. However, all this is but a modest beginning, and we should conjugate the efforts and improve the coherence of the action taken by the governmental bodies, the FPS, and the Private Property Fund [FPP] to support this process. Of course, this is no easy or simple thing, given the absence of the sources of capital. I believe that a lot has also been done to support private initiative in setting up new units. First of all, more than 400,000 new economic units were created, beginning with individual, family, or small and medium-sized units in the sphere of trade and services but also small and medium-sized production units. Likewise, someone wondered when I said that Romanian agriculture is basically privatized at this moment. I can hardly understand their surprise, when it is a known fact that 82 percent of our agricultural land is in private hands, following the implementation of the Law on the Land Stock. It does not matter that not all ownership certificates have been issued yet because relevant permits have been issued for all ownership titles. Even the former state enterprises, which have meanwhile turned into trade companies, will eventually become private share holding companies. Therefore, important steps have been taken along the road of privatization, but this process, particularly the privatization of the large state enterprises, is faced with many obstacles, due to the lack of adequate sources of capital. One should take more coherent steps in this respect, since the government no longer has the necessary levers for that. The government, together with the FPS and the FPP, should now work out a schedule and program of more resolute measures to encourage this process, while

also promoting foreign capital investments, a sphere where justified criticism has been brought up by the representatives of certain foreign companies that I have talked to. They complain that they are faced with a lot of bureaucracy and inertia from our institutions in facilitating and backing the necessary actions to promote the creation of joint companies, with the participation of foreign capital.

We have also begun to promote free zones, where we should take more energetic steps to encourage investments of capital from new companies. I saw the beginning of the organization of a free trade zone in Constanta harbor. It is clearly a good beginning, but it will have to be given further assistance. Therefore, even this proves the erroneousness of the assessment that nothing has been done and that the privatization process has been stopped. However, I agree with the criticism regarding the inertia in the activity of our state apparatus and the appearance of certain forms of corruption, both in the process of privatization and in the overall economic activity, against a background of loopholes in our legislation, of lack of firm action on the part of the very institutions designed to promote the reform and the privatization process, and of the emergence of people who are resorting to dishonest ways in order to get rich.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Let us say that all these shortcomings are part of the decorum of the Romanian transition. The truth is that we are actually coming to the end of a cycle. By that, I mean that we have normalized our relations with the European bodies, the United States, the Council of Europe, and NATO. How do you assess, Mr. President, this stage of our country's international relations and what, in your opinion, has brought about the entire process that determined that Romania should no longer be pushed around in the political landscape of the world?

[Iliescu] I believe one should approach things realistically in this respect. We should not hurry, nor should we dramatize certain difficulties that we are being confronted with in the developmEnt of our domestic life, on the one hand, and in international relations, on the other. In the last instance, life will settle and resolve all things as it deems fit. I believe this is a natural process in keeping with the evolution of our domestic situation and that life has had more to say in this respect than the diplomatic demarches. Consequently, the realistic politicians of the world have reached the natural conclusion that Romania's policy is consistently concerned with our integration in all the processes taking place at an European and international level and that our efforts at home are correlated with the ones abroad with this very goal in mind.

On the other hand, I believe that this interest is mutual: Not only do we want to integrate in these European processes, but I also believe that it is in Europe's overall interest that this integration actually happens. I have stressed this aspect on other instances in the past: In international political and economic relations, it is not the subjective attitude but rather the interest that has prime of place. In the last instance, interests are prevalent and they also govern the development of our relations with others as well as the relations of others with us.

The measures that we are taking to develop democracy in Romania, promote the market economy, and ensure the observance of the rights of minorities are not done for the sake of the Council or Europe or other international organizations but rather because they are in accordance with our national interests and the interests of the Romanian society. If they were not in keeping with the interests of our development, I would personally not be very impressed by the requests and demands of certain international organizations. We are not promoting democracy and the market economy in Romania in order to please them, but because this action corresponds to the requirements of our development and the need to revive the Romanian economy and improve the life of our citizens. The fact that these goals coincide with the course of the world as a whole—something that is reflected in the norms, requirements, and principles of certain international bodies—well, this is altogether something different. We are trying to become integrated in such bodies because the requirements and exigencies contained by their platforms and statutes correspond to the requirements for our development.

Regarding NATO, we want to have good relations with it since Romania already belongs to the Consultative Council set up by NATO and the Western European Union [WEU], a council that relies on the principle of partnership with countries that do not yet belong to NATO but would like to join it. A whole dispute arose in this respect, about some willing to join NATO before others. I stated my opinion on this matter. Of course, Russia, for instance, would represent a special case, but as for the other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, we believe that—in view of the place and role of that organization as a factor of stability in Europe—the discriminatory and differentiated treatment of these countries, which are currently members of the Consultative Council, would not be a positive endeavor. I was able to note that this viewpoint is shared by the NATO leaders and other representatives of certain NATO member countries, who are lucidly approaching this issue. As a matter of fact, they have already said that the problem of receiving new members is not on the agenda right now. For the time being, they are examining the possibility of dynamizing the framework offered by the Consultative Council, thus heeding Romania's position on applying equal treatment to all countries in the region.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Mr. President, although everyone knows our country's position vis-a-vis a certain intention of conditioning the overall relations with NATO, we would like you to give us some details about this issue.

[Iliescu] It has to do with a letter by President Boris Yeltsin. As I understood it, President Yeltsin expressed

something else, namely the concern of the Russian head of state with an apparent trend to isolate Russia. Hence, his concern was linked to the fact that this extension of NATO's ranks should not acquire an anti-Russian connotation, thus leading to Russia's isolation within the overall framework of European security. Anyhow, we pointed out that no one can attach conditions to Romania's choice of adhering to whatever international organizations it likes since this is a decision that we are taking here, in Romania, in the state bodies of our country. We will never accept that our choices should be conditioned by or require the approval of others.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] If you were to sum up your statements so far, would you say that Romania's image abroad today, in October 1993, is different from what it was two years ago?

[Iliescu] Yes, different even compared to what it was last year. I believe that it is a substantially improved image, something that is reflected in many things, as I have said on many other occasions. Regarding the evolution of Romania's relations with the United States, let me say that last April, when I visited Washington, I was able to note—in the contacts I had with administration officials and with the members of Congress and the Senate—that the dialogue conducted on that occasion was quite useful, since it allowed us to clarify many problems and answer a lot of questions, most of which proved an insufficient knowledge of the realities in our country or were under the impact produced by certain events that took place in Romania. I explained to many people the way in which the political life has evolved in Romania, with the tense period at the start of 1990, with the street confrontations that characterized the political life at that time, and with the so-called "miners' incursions," although I can see even today that those events continue to be tackled in a unilateral way. Everyone talks about the "miners' incursions," but nobody talks about 13 June [1990] and about the forces that provoked the disturbances in Bucharest, which caused nationwide concern and were actually the cause for the arrival of the miners and other people in Bucharest. Therefore, this attempt to accredit certain unilateral and incorrect viewpoints about the evolution of events continues to this very day, even though they have fed certain negative attitudes, reservations, and suspicions toward Romania in the course of time. I was also displeased with the presentation of the situation of retarded people, orphan children, the gypsies in Romania and Europe, and so forth. Taken out of context and presented in a unilateral way, all this gave a distorted image about Romania and the Romanian way of life.

I heard that the European official Mr. Steven Austin recently visited Romania and told the people he met here about his fears prior to this visit and how his friends were bewildered that he dared to pay a visit to Romania, since he might be mugged in the street. But then, once here, he noted on the spot that things are not quite so bad after all, that one can breathe freely and normally in Romania, and that it is not so dangerous to come here. I would like to point out that this is the kind of images that were projected about our country, which gave a totally distorted impression about the Romanian reality and the progress of the Romanian society. But now, however, these things are beginning to be perceived in their true light. At the same time, a very bad propaganda has been insistently propagated by certain people from abroad but also from within the country, about the minorities and their rights in Romania, so that some foreigners believed that the Hungarians cannot even use their mother tongue in Romania and that they do not have schools and publications in their mother tongue. However, those who came to visit Romania and also went to Transylvania could see for themselves that the Hungarians are speaking Hungarian, that no one hits them on the head for it, and that they have schools and publications in their language, as well as radio and television programs.

The world began to perceive the Romanian realities, including our hardships and difficulties, more correctly and objectively. I have never said, not even in Vienna, as I noticed certain people claim—by the way, they claimed that now that we have joined the Council of Europe, we are resorting to a propaganda orgy and are presenting things in such a way as if perfect democracy were ruling in Romania—that there is nothing left to be done in this respect from now on and that there is heaven on earth in our country. I have never presented things in a rosy picture and then touched up the images. On the contrary, in enumerating the steps we have taken and are still taking to consolidate our democratic life, I did not hesitate to emphasize the difficulties we are currently facing at all levels, as well as the efforts we must continue to make to further consolidate the democratic process, the political life, the civilized relations that should prevail among the political and social forces, and the political dialogue that must become a characteristic feature of our life. I have also stressed the great efforts we must yet undertake in the economic sphere.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Mr. President, do you believe that the interest of certain states you were alluding to in promoting a certain type of relations with Romania is also due to the fact that, despite the known difficulties, Romania still remains a stable country, with an important role to play in this part of the world?

[Iliescu] There is no doubt that this is an element of basic political logic, in view of what is going on around us, namely the military conflict in Yugoslavia, the situation in the former Soviet Union and in the Caucasus, and the recent events in Russia. The politicians and international policy analysts consider our country as a stable zone in this part of the world and value the place and role which Romania can and must play as a factor of stability in our region. They also value the efforts we are making to develop relations of good-neighborliness with all countries in this part of the world, even those states with which we still have some contentious problems, such as Hungary. Nevertheless, we are maintaining normal state relations, there is free circulation, and there are no longer have closed borders like a few years ago. Even the

economic relations have registered an upward course in the last three years. We are conducting normal political relations at the government level, cultural ties, and so forth. It is regrettable that there are still certain difficulties as far as our high-level political relations and the finalization of the treaty with Hungary are concerned. However, I believe that if we show proof of political wisdom, we will jointly come to the conclusion that we must finalize such a document and create a climate of trust and good neighborliness. After all, history has placed us both here and, whether we like it or not, we are neighbors, hence we must live in good neighborliness. I believe that our common interests will prevail over differences and elements of distrust, which have been augmented during the course of history and which might still exist today.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Mr. President, we are currently going through a disquieting international present, with a future ahead of us that raises many questions. An objective examination of the almost four years that have elapsed since the December 1989 revolution shows that Romania, despite all the difficulties, has managed to avoid the dramatic situations experienced or still being experienced by certain countries closer to or farther away from our borders and has somewhat found a certain interior balance and stability, thus creating the premises for overcoming the transition period. Are you optimistic? Do you have trust in our ability to find solutions to the problems that Romania will have to face in the future at home and at the world level?

[Iliescu] I think we should have this trust in ourselves. After all, the only chance we have is to stay optimistic and have trust in Romania's future. We stand nothing to gain from being tense, from letting ourselves be outrun by the difficulties we are facing, and from becoming afraid of everything happening or that might happen around us. There is enough reason to have trust in our regenerative power, and there are enough encouraging signs in this respect. We should mobilize the overall political and social will of the entire country in order to overcome all these difficulties and promote what is essential for the recovery of our economic life in order to primarily achieve an efficient and modern economy, based on everything that is characteristic of the advanced economies in today's world, by utilizing our people's creative potential. On the other hand, we should create the necessary climate of understanding and civilized communication among us, learn to respect each other better, learn to better listen to each other, and learn to promote what binds us rather than what separates us. This has nothing to do with the superficial pathos I am being accused of every time I open my mouth to utter the world "convergence" or "consensus." I believe that the Romanians can also act in convergence and that there is no need for them to exchange blows at each and every available opportunity.

We are not having an easy time in the current circumstances and with the present composition of parliament, as it resulted from last year's elections. After the elections, I made efforts to achieve a certain convergence and a kind of political pact, outside the government structure, although I have also explored the idea of a government of national unity or a broader coalition government. However, the idea did not prove realistic or feasible. This may not prove to be all that easy to achieve in the forthcoming future, either. Nevertheless, I believe that we should persevere in this respect.

In this order of ideas, I would like to come back to what I said a few moments ago and emphasize that I am saddened by the fact that certain newspapers chose to distort some of the statements I made in connection with the Vienna meeting, claiming that I have criticized the opposition because it has conducted a destructive policy in this period. I did not refer to the opposition, but in answer to a question put totally out of context—after all, the general context was that of expressing satisfaction for the convergence with which the political forces in Romania have acted to promote the country's interests in the Council of Europe—I said that I also took note of some criticism leveled against certain Romanians who spoke against Romania's interests. This was no comment about the behavior of the opposition as a whole! I did not talk about the opposition there, but rather about the way in which the position of certain Romanians, even Romanian politicians, was assessed abroad, their stands being construed as negative attitudes toward earnestness with which Romania was applying to enter that European body. I am still open and receptive to any suggestions and I am prepared to make further efforts to find a broader platform for dialogue, which can pinpoint those elements of contact and convergence, capable of making possible not only the confrontation, but also the political cooperation in our parliamentary and extraparliamentary life.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Mr. President, what are your plans for the immediate future?

[Iliescu] Two major political moments in the country's life are coming up. First, the 75th anniversary of the unification on 1 December. In this respect, I want to meet with the representatives of the parliamentary parties and consult with them about ways and means for joint action to ensure that this event no longer becomes a reason for discord but rather a true moment for celebrating unification. It should be a political moment that underscores our aspiration toward pooling all forces at this difficult time through which our country is going now.

Second, we will celebrate the fourth anniversary of the December 1989 revolution. I would also like it to be a moment when we all give prime of place to the basic and generous ideas of the Romanian revolution and think up various ways and means to conjugate our efforts so that those ideas can be fully implemented in the entire evolution of our society. I believe that the great themes and problems that have made the subject of the 10 point program of the revolution have generally found their way

in our evolution thus far. We eliminated the totalitarian monopoly system of a party, introduced a multiparty system, and held free general elections, as was demanded at that time, before the documents were even read in the Revolution Square. We also held local elections and a second round of general and parliamentary elections, after we adopted a new Constitution, which was a democratic aspiration that we fulfilled and are applying in real life.

We have achieved the country's opening up toward the world and our integration in the European bodies. We have taken steps toward building the market economy. Of course, there is still quite a lot to be done, but let us remember that we dismantled a supercentralized system of economic guidance. Maybe we also made several mistakes along the way by failing to ensure the coherence of this transition process. You do not demolish something without putting something else in its place. Right now, no one can be blamed for not striving to do just that. We all know in what times and conditions all these changes have occurred. They have undoubtedly caused various losses, both directly and indirectly, as well as destructions. However, we must remember the reasoning behind all the measures and steps taken so far, their goal being to promote the market economy. There is still plenty to be done in this respect.

I would like the two aforementioned moments to bring back the kind of elan that inspired us all in December 1989, so that we can achieve the convergence of all the forces interested in the country's progress.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Mr. President, we thank you for your kindness in granting us this interview.

Iliescu Accused of Trying To Eliminate Opponents

AU1510201693 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 1300 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Editorial by Ion Cristoiu: "Are We Moving Toward a Velvet 13-15 June 1990 Miners Incursion?"]

[Text] According to reports, during the news conference held on Saturday afternoon, 9 October, at our embassy in Vienna, [Romanian President] Ion Iliescu adopted an extremely firm attitude toward the opposition and independent press. Through his incensed temper and through threats between the lines, the statement in Vienna represents the most harsh attack in the past year by President Ion Iliescu against his opponents in politics and the press. Many people view this presidential hysteria in the capital of Austria as one of his usual outbursts, explained by his incapability to control himself in public. I was inclined to believe the same thing. The latest events, however, have demonstrated that I was wrong.

In Vienna, Ion Iliescu did not have an impatient outburst. In Vienna, Romania's president presented his political program for the coming stage: decisively settling accounts with the opposition and press. Through its final goals and practical aspects, this program aims at making the opposition, independent press, and criticizing intellectuals go through the same experience again as from 13-15 June 1990. As is known, the events three years ago were an attempt by President Ion Iliescu to eliminate the domestic opposition. Taking the violence in the afternoon of 13 June as a pretext, which, many people thought, was staged by Cotroceni [presidency seat], Ion Iliescu summoned to Bucharest gangs of miners armed with cudgels and hatchets, whom he urged, through his inciting speech on 14 June, to attack the headquarters of opposition parties and independent newspapers, and to spread terror in Bucharest. For a whole day, Iliescu's opponents—from politicians to simple citizens—were chased through Bucharest's street with the police looking on benevolently. The main cause of the miners' incursion on 14 June 1990 was the victory won by Ion Iliescu during the presidential and general elections. Ion Iliescu viewed the population's vote for him and his party as tacit approval for terrifying his opponents. Certainly, the president's profoundly rancorous nature played a major role in this bloody conflict. As I have often said so far, Ion Iliescu is a man who cannot forgive. When there is no possibility of taking revenge right away, he does not say anything and swallows it, but he chases the one who dared challenge him to the end of the world. That is what he did with Nicolae Ceausescu.

Beginning with 1971, when he was removed from the top, this former member of the Communist Party [CP] Executive Committee watched the former CP secretary general with his petty hatred. He did not have peace and quiet before he saw him placed in front of a wall and executed. It was with the same hatred that he hunted his former Executive Committee colleagues who continued to hold the same positions after he had been removed. He dragged them through prisons and pushed them to the limits of human endurance. He did not heed any of the applications sent by these old and sick people. All of these papers are piled up unread in Cotroceni Palace.

Naturally, the new 13-15 June plotted by Ion Iliescu cannot repeat the one three years ago. A bloody miners' incursion would be impossible today. Therefore, Iliescu thought of a velvet miners' incursion, a 13-15 June that seems to respect the state governed by law. Through the statement made at the end of last week during a meeting with the press on local administration issues, one of Ion Iliescu's close aides, Adrian Nastase, opened the campaign of removing the mayors coming from the opposition: National Liberal Party, National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, Civic Alliance Party, and Liberal Party '93. The prime minister's control body has proceeded to investigate the Roman government. Thus another opposition party is going to be eliminated—the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front)—of course, by so-called legal means. Things were maneuvered so as to increase the price of paper astronomically. The aim of this tactic is to stifle the independent press; naturally by means of the so-called market economy. The Group of Social Dialogue and Magazine "22" have been asked to evacuate their headquarters in Victoria Street.

Like the bloody miners' incursion, the velvet one that is being prepared stems from the president's belief that he has been given a green light to proceed to settling accounts with his political opponents. In June 1990, this green light was viewed by Ion iliescu as the result of the 1990 elections. Now, in his view, such a green light is Romania's admission to the Council of Europe. Before he saw himself accepted into the selected club of democracy that is the Council of Europe, the president excellently concealed his natural inclination of eliminating his opponents. Desperate that he could be refused again, he put on the cloak of a European democrat. Now that he has reaped the results, he has quickly taken it off. And the genuine Ion Iliescu has emerged.

As in Ceausescu's case, the West let itself tricked by Ion Iliescu's European smile, which is unfortunate for it, but also for us!

Army Investigations Directorate To Incorporate SIE

AU1910070693 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 12 Oct 93 p 4

[Note by Radu Tudor: "Major General Decebal Ilina, Head of the Army's Investigation Directorate, Will Coordinate the Foreign Intelligence Service"]

[Text] At the last meeting of the Supreme Defense Council, a decision was made to "set up a new directorate within the Foreign Intelligence Service [SIE]."

With the major goals of the Romanian foreign policy achieved (the admittance to the Council of Europe and the granting of most-favored-nation status by the United States), the Supreme Defense Council meeting came to the conclusion that Romania's next most important step is to join the NATO structures.

In this respect, the following measure became imminent: Major General Decebal Ilina, a secret service professional, will take over the coordination of the civil and military foreign intelligence services. As head of the Army's Investigations Directorate, he will also be in charge of the SIE, without the position of Major General Ioan Talpes [head of the SIE] being affected.

According to the Law on Romania's National Security promulgated by President Ion Iliescu on 29 July 1991, there are seven intelligence services carrying out espionage and counterespionage activities.

According to the aforementioned law, "intelligence activity is being carried out by domestic organizations specializing in the field of national security." The Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], the SIE, and the Protection and Guard Service (the last one belonging to the presidential institution) are mentioned in this respect. Other ministries are listed as merely having intelligence services, with details only being provided about the structure of the Justice Ministry's respective organization: the General Directorate of Prisons, led by Major General Ioan Chis.

Other intelligence gathering offices are: the Army's Investigations Directorate, led by Major General Decebal Ilina, and the Army's Counterintelligence Directorate, led by Major General Victor Negulescu.

The Ministry of Interior has its own intelligence service, the UM [expansion unknown] 0215, led by Major General Dan Gheorghe.

The SRI continues to be led by Virgil Magureanu, the SIE by Major General Ioan Talpes, and the Protection and Guard Service by Colonel Dumitru Iliescu.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 19 October
WA1910155893

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Croat-Muslim prisoner exchange begins ... Muslims say civilians imprisoned in Croatian-held Zepce ... Gornji Vakuf, Sarajevo reportedly shelled ... Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic rejects Bosnian President Izetbegovic's proposal on peace conference.

HUMANITARIAN

PRISONER EXCHANGE BEGINS (AFP): Croats, Muslims begin exchange of 6,000 prisoners under auspice of Red Cross, UNPROFOR. Bosnian President Izetbegovic, Croatian President Tudjman agreed on the exchange during peace talks in Geneva last month. (AU1910145193)

MUSLIMS IMPRISONED IN ZEPCE: Sarajevo Radio reports Croatian "extremists" have imprisoned "several hundred civilians" in detention camps in Zepce, forcing some prisoners to "dig trenches." (LD1810202093)

MILITARY

ATTACKS ON GORNJI VAKUF, SARAJEVO: Sarajevo Radio reports failed attack on Gornji Vakuf by Bosnian Croat forces, town still under mortar fire; Sarajevo continues to be shelled by Serbian artillery fire. (AU1810203793)

DIPLOMATIC

KARADZIC REJECTS IZETBEGOVIC PROPOSAL (TANJUG): Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic rejects proposal by Bosnian President Izetbegovic to convene Balkan conference that would deal with Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo, says he prefers to continue negotiation over Owen-Stoltenberg plan to partition Bosnia. (LD1810161393)

Karadzic Against Convening Balkans Conference

LD1810161393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1431 GMT 18 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Trebinje, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—Leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic has assessed as negative a proposal by Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic to have a Balkan conference convened to deal with all the problems related to the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, stressing that what was first to be resolved was the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina along with that of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

The RSK is the state proclaimed by Serbs in the territory of the Republic of Croatia after its forcible secession from ex-Yugoslavia.

Karadzic stressed he was not regarding as dead the plan by international mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg on halting the 18-month-old civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on dividing this ex-Yugoslav republic into three (Moslem, Serb, Croat) ethnic states.

"This war, it will either end in a conference or bleed itself out... The Serbs, arms in their hands, having to fortify the borders they now hold," said president of the Bosnian Serb republic Radovan Karadzic in addressing newsmen in eastern Herzegovinian centre of Trebinje on Sunday night [17 October].

If the war ended in a conference, the Bosnian Moslems and Croats, according to Karadzic, would have the chances of completing their state entities. Conversely, said he, "there might even be nothing of a Moslem state." He stressed that the peace talks became deadlocked when pressures on Moslems had ceased.

Karadzic emphasized that if the world, Europe in particular, had not wanted a Moslem state, then they would persuade Izetbegovic not to sign an agreement. As a result, the Moslem national being and territories would further disintegrate until they vanish altogether.

If the world wanted a Moslem state, it would press hard for an agreement to be signed and the Moslems would obtain their state virtually in no time, Karadzic maintained.

"Moslems are in an extremely difficult position, but we shall not take advantage of the situation in which they found themselves to place them under our control. On the contrary, now that they are in their most difficult situation, we are offering them our help," said Karadzic.

Asked as to what are the objectives of the Serbs living in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, Karadzic answered: To unite ourselves into one state.

Presidency Dismisses Six Ministers

AU1810193393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] We have just received information that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency held a session today. At this session, which was presided over by Alija Izetbegovic, the Presidency discussed the problem of electing the missing members of this body and a person who will form a new government. The resignation of Hadzo Efendic from the post of ambassador to Vienna, Austria, was not accepted at today's session.

The Presidency reiterated the principle of the all-for-all exchange of war prisoners, according to the program of the International Red Cross.

At today's session the following members of the government were relieved of their duties: Deputy Prime Minister Miodrag Simovic, Defense Minister Bozo Rajic, Finance Minister Branko Bilic, Transport and Communications Minister Josip Jukic, Labor and Social Policy Minister Martin Raguz, and Religious Affairs Minister Darko Lukic.

The Presidency adopted a number of legal regulations, accepted a report by a commission on the founding of a pedagogical academy in Bihac, ruled on some personnel issues in the judiciary, elected the representatives for the Bihac region, and the War Presidencies of the communes of Kresevo and Glamoc.

Bakir Gavran-Kapetanovic was appointed chairman of the State Commission for the Collection of Evidence on War Crimes, to replace former chairman Stjepan Kljuic, who will remain a member of the Commission.

Army Commander Explains Incident With UN Vehicles

AU1810200893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Interview with Vahid Karavelic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps, by Mirela Hukovic, in Sarajevo on 18 October—recorded]

[Text] [Hukovic] Mr. Karavelic, we have just seen an attempt to resolve the incident, as Mr. (?Dubour) called it, in the best possible way, that is, to return the armored personnel carriers that were seized several days ago. What is this all about? Can you tell me what has been done about it so far?

[Karavelic] I think that everyone in Sarajevo knows, as the news has leaked out through the media, that on 16 October an artillery attack was launched on Sarajevo at 0930. During this chetnik offensive on Sarajevo, the attack by the chetnik infantry was the fiercest in the defense zone of two units on the left bank of the Miljacka River, at the location where the military observers were stationed. At that time the military observers demanded to be pulled out, but we told them that for their own

protection we do not allow that in the midst of fighting, as they could get caught in the crossfire and get killed. Also we wanted them to stay to witness the chetnik attack, the attack by their infantry.

However, at about 1400 UNPROFOR troops in two transporters, two combat vehicles, started approaching these military observers. At that time the infantry clashes were at their height, and we had the chance of capturing a number of chetnik infantry, some 50 to 60 of them. Because of that and other circumstances—and General Cot was told this yesterday when he arrived from Zagreb—because of all these mistakes, deliberate or otherwise, committed by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] members in the defense zone of this brigade, a negative feeling was created among the people, the citizens in this area. That negative feeling turned to fury when it came to the military observers and the UNPROFOR members in the area.

So when they intervened, when they came to pull out the military observers in the midst of the fighting, the citizens and partly the fighters, too, did what they did. We all know what. It was all done on impulse. Fortunately, though, after a few dozen hours we have managed to sort it all out, and we have now returned to UNPROFOR part of their equipment. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the 1st Corps, respects everything that UNPROFOR and the military observers do here, but I would like to suggest, as I have to General Cot and the said gentleman, I would like to reiterate that more attention should be paid to what is being done at certain moments, particularly as all UNPROFOR members have been warned that no movement is allowed in the defense zones of the units in the midst of fighting, that is, that they cannot enter the defense zones of the brigades without the knowledge and permission of the 1st Corps Command.

[Hukovic] What did Mr. Cot demand from you yesterday?

[Karavelic] He naturally insisted on the return of all the vehicles and equipment that the citizens had seized from UNPROFOR.

[Hukovic] The citizens or the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

[Karavelic] The population, the citizens, and probably some fighters also participated.

[Hukovic] What happened to the people in the UNPROFOR vehicles?

[Karavelic] All the members, the military observers, the officers, and the UNPROFOR soldiers were taken to the command, to Mr. Lagundzija. Mr. Lagundzija received these people, protected them—it is hard to explain this to UNPROFOR and the military observers—there could have been undesirable consequences, far more serious consequences. Fortunately and thanks to Mr. Mensud Lagundzija, the commander of this unit, who was on the spot, more serious, fatal consequences were prevented, certainly when it comes to the people. As for the equipment, we can sort that out, and we will return the items.

Gornji Vakuf, Gorazde, Sarajevo Shelled

AU1810203793

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 18 October carries in its regular 35-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the Republic.

In his report from Gornji Vakuf, Atif Agic says that "tanks, howitzers, and mortars have almost been competing as to which can deliver more shells on the town. This morning they also used explosive devices that are fired by catapult [katapult]. This uproar was just the prelude to an all-out infantry and tank attack. Hours of street fighting followed, in which the fighters of the Croatian Army and the HVO were subjected to a true military fiasco. They were broken up into small groups of infantrymen, while a T-55 tank, which was entering the town's center, ended up as a heap of scrap metal, naturally with its complete crew. As for the other T-55 tank, which bore Croatian Army markings, it was damaged in the region of Babe at 1310, where four Croatian fighters were killed." He says that "this afternoon the Croatian Army tanks withdrew from all their combat positions and Gornji Vakuf is now under mortar fire only."

Reporting from Gorazde, Enes Musovic says that "since this morning 412 mortars, ranging from 82-mm to 155-mm, have landed on the town. It has been an extremely bloody day here as the shells spread death to almost every street. We have received information from the hospital that 14 Gorazde citizens have been wounded, only three of them lightly. As for those killed, their number is unknown owing to the breakdown of communications." He says that "at the moment of reporting, powerful explosions can be heard from Ustipraca."

The Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Motorized Brigade reports from [Sarajevo suburb] Ilidza that "today has been marked by heavy artillery fire from the [Serbian] aggressor's positions. Early in the morning the enemy started off with provocative small arms fire, but this was later followed by fierce artillery fire aimed at civilian targets. The Hrasnica, Sokolovici, and Butmir area has been exposed to constant artillery fire from howitzers, tanks, and mortars. There has also been intense aggressor fire along the entire demarcation line, particularly in Butmir and (?Hotovac)." The report further warns citizens to stay indoors.

Abdic Meets With Serbian Krajina's Bjegovic

AU1810185593 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Oct 93 p 3

[Report by S.P.S.: "Meeting Between Bjegovic and Abdic"]

[Text] Knin—Fikret Abdic, leader of the newly founded western Bosnia autonomous region, at his own request met Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina two days ago. As BORBA has learned unofficially, the meeting took place in a part of the republic of Serbian Krajina where it borders with the Bihac commune. Abdic, the initiator of the meeting, asked Bjegovic "for certain help in the struggle against Alija's army," our source says.

Army Soldiers Defect to Western Bosnian Rebels

LD1810222793 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2140 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Western Bosnian Information Agency reports that 80 soldiers of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army this evening defected to the free territory and joined the defenders and legal units of the autonomous province of western Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Muslim Civilians Imprisoned in Croat-Held Zepce

LD1810202093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Bosnia-Herzegovina TV rebroadcast by Sarajevo radio]

[Text] Several hundred civilians have been imprisoned in detention camps run by HVO [Croatian Defense Council] extremists in Zepce [Croatian enclave in central Bosnia]. Nothing is known about the fate of 560 prisoners of war except that they are used by HVO members to dig trenches and that they are disappearing one by one. Two hundred and forty-seven imprisoned civilians live in extremely difficult conditions; 157 women and children sleep on concrete floors in the Ljubatovici camp without basic necessities and are harassed by HVO soldiers. Hajrudin Sermic [Bosnia-Herzegovina radio and TV correspondent] reports from Maglaj that chronically ill patients, pregnant women, children and the elderly are among the prisoners. This is why a protest has been sent from Maglaj to the commission authorized to implement the Izetbegovic-Tudjman declaration, International Red Cross, and other humanitarian organizations to exert pressure on local HVO commander [in Zepce] Ivo Lozancic to release the civilians.

Croatian Commander Claims Zepce To Declare Autonomy

AU1910094993 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 93 p 8

[Interview with Ivo Lozancic, commander of the 111th XP HVO Brigade, by Slobodan Lovrenovic; place and date not given: "We Will Declare Autonomy"]

[Text] [Lovrenovic] Mr. Lozancic, Zepce, which your brigade is defending, is under siege. How are you managing?

[Lozancic] In the past month, the situation in the area of Zepce, Zavidovici, and Maglaj has changed. We have conquered the important mountain massifs and elevations. We are now trying to conquer the left bank of the Bosna River at Zavidovici. The Muslim army can no longer take action at Zepce. It is a great achievement.

[Lovrenovic] Does that mean the Muslim attacks have stopped?

[Lozancic] Just the opposite. They have been attacking the area constantly and from all sides. However, they have not informed their public that the Muslim forces no longer control the area between Tuzla and Zenica. They are hiding their defeats and failures, but they are not giving up.

We Will Defend Ourselves Successfully!

[Lovrenovic] What follows now?

[Lozancic] According to the information of our information service, another offensive on this area is being prepared. Namely, there are two main directions of the Muslim army actions. One is towards the sea and the other toward Tesanj, which means toward our area. However, we are ready for new trials.

[Lovrenovic] You are surrounded in an enclave. How do you intend to get out of it?

[Lozancic] Yes, our activities have become difficult to carry out because there is no communication with Vares and Kakanj. I asked all Croats to defend their territory long ago. What we are defending now has belonged to us for 500 years. I wanted Kakanj, Vares, and other towns to follow our example so that we could connect the territory. Unfortunately, some people were calculating too much. However, I hope that things are changing now.

[Lovrenovic] Does that mean you will hold up?

[Lozancic] I think that the Muslims have become quite exhausted with this way of waging a war. They have had many casualties. It is hard to live on what one receives from the air. They do produce their own ammunition but with difficulty. The future is on our side. The Croats will defend the territory of Zepce, Zavidovici, and Maglaj for certain.

The Legal State Must Exist

[Lovrenovic] Zepce is under siege and the attacks are constant. How do the people live?

[Lozancic] We are trying to normalize the life in Zepce. It is difficult, but we are doing our best. A big problem is lack of electricity. However, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], ICRC [International Committee of Red Cross], and UNHCR have arrived, and we are trying to solve all the problems together. We have been repairing the destroyed houses, but that is not all.

We have been introducing the legal state. This may sound absurd, but that is the way it is. All the regulations

of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna are observed in Zepce. There is no autocracy. We are part of the republic—at least for the time being.

[Lovrenovic] According to the Geneva maps, the territory within the Zepce-Zavidovici-Maglaj triangle is not included in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, is it?

[Lozancic] We had heavy fights with the Serbs for a year, and now we have had four months of fighting with the Muslims. We have defended ourselves and we will not give everything up. We are asking for a political solution for our enclave. We will put forward a suggestion, and then we will see. We will declare autonomy of the Croatian enclave on the territory of Zepce, Zavidovici, Maglaj, and Usora. We have support for that in case the rest of the "Geneva maps and solutions" fail. However, for the time being it is all questionable.

[Lovrenovic] The Muslim army is not giving up. Are the Muslim troops really stronger?

[Lozancic] Islam and the fundamentalists have been made into something larger than they are. They are not that strong. We have proven that it is possible to fight against the enemy who is stronger in number. There are many people among the Muslims who are not from this area. They are refugees from eastern Bosnia and the Bosnian Krajina. There are some Mojahedin, too, but they refuse to fight in the Zepce region, claiming that there is no real Islam here.

Launching a Counteroffensive

[Lovrenovic] How do you assess the achievements of the HVO in other areas?

[Lozancic] I wish the HVO members in Herzegovina a lot of luck. However, both we and they have to take more offensives. It is necessary to push the enemy back from Mostar. Mostar must be the center of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. We must also break the blockade in central Bosnia.

[Lovrenovic] Is that possible?

[Lozancic] I expect that good news will arrive in 10-15 days. There may even be a peaceful solution, but that is uncertain. We must be prepared to defend ourselves. The HVO will defend the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. After all, the situation is more stable now. We should launch a counteroffensive. There will be results. We have the strength. All the Croats from these areas must also help us.

[Lovrenovic] Are the Croats in your area fighting against the Serbs?

[Lozancic] The Serbs have used our conflicts with the Muslims. They have almost finished their job. In some areas—Ozren, Tesanj, and Teslic—they are fighting against the Muslims, but they are mostly observing the cease-fire agreement. It is the same with their relation to the HVO. The Serbs have no aspirations to Zepce and the left bank of the Bosna River at Zavidovici—at least for the time being.

[Lovrenovic] There have been protests regarding the engagement of the Croats from Bugojno in Zepce. They claim it was done against their will.

[Lozancic] As was agreed with Bruno Stojic, minister of defense, and, through him, with the Serb side, 139 HVO soldiers came to our area from Bugojno. They do not like to fight. They are trying to secure some replacement through the ICRC. I personally do not understand why they do not want to take part in the fighting at Zepce. At the time the blockade started, nearly a hundred of our fighters were caught in the areas of Busovaca, Mostar, and Gornji Vakuf. They are contributing to the defense of these areas. Unfortunately, the members of the Bugojno brigade do not understand that it is their duty to defend the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and not only their homes.

[Lovrenovic] What will you do about them?

[Lozancic] I understand them as individuals, but they should behave as soldiers. Regardless of everything that happened at Bugojno, the HVO is defending the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and troops are deployed in accordance with the decisions of the command center. However, most of the HVO members who have come from Bugojno have been acting destructively. We have been trying to persuade them that it is necessary to stay and fight, but it is up to them to decide. However, we can not send each one of them where they would like to go.

[Lovrenovic] Do you think Zepce will live through the same experience as Bugojno?

[Lozancic] Never. In the past several days, we have moved the defense lines to our advantage. We will soon rule the entire Croatian area in the municipality of Zavidovici. We have won all the battles. The Muslims can do something only through terrorist actions and crimes, such as the one in Kiseljak.

Serbs Say Italians Fighting To Regain Territory

LD1810133993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1112 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Report by Sava Jankovic]

[Text] Knin, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—Between 6,000 and 7,000 fighters, including a large number of Italians recruited to the "Garibaldi" unit, have so far been trained at the "Alfa" 107th education center for reconaissance and sabotage training of the Serb Krajina army.

The alpha and omega in the "Alpha" center is Captain Dragan, in Krajina simply called "Cap". "They are still in our units, under our command," he says. "At the moment they are on Mt. Velebit."

Speaking about the "Garibaldi" unit with a TANJUG correspondent, Captain Dragan emphasizes their professionalism, courage, and high degree of training. "Would they be on Mt. Velebit if they were not as professional as they are?" he says.

Not only are the Serbs and Italians deployed there, the "Cap" says, but the "special units" also include Russians and Romanians and their number has been increasing daily.

He also calls them the internationalists, pointing to the huge difference between them and those on the Croatian side. They join the Croatian side because of the money. Those are mercenaries, "dogs of war", he claims.

He says that his internationalists are genuine, as they believe "in our struggle for Orthodox Christianity, and against resurrected fascism."

He is convinced that the number of international volunteers will increase further, stressing that "there has been an increasing number of Britons who are beginning to understand that ustashas are nothing other than resurrected fascists."

Captain Dragan has an explanation for the motives driving Italians to join the Garibaldi unit with which he has carried out numerous reconaissance and sabotage actions behind enemy lines. We asked him what motivates his fellow-fighters from the other side of the Adriatic, the Italians, to come to the training center, complete training, and put themselves under the command and at the disposal of the general headquarters of the army of Serb Krajina.

"They view the Osimo agreement [treaty signed by Italy and Yugoslavia dealing with treatment of minorities and increased economic cooperation] as the sale of part of Italy," he replied. "Now, when former Yugoslavia no longer exists, they consider the Osimo agreement invalid, no longer in existence."

"They really believe that territories that once belonged to Italy should be returned to Italy," the "Cap" says.

At the same time, he mentions the traditionally good relations with the Italians. "We understand them much better and are better friends with them than with the Croats. We have a common interest, the struggle against the current Croatian authorities. The enemy of our friend is also our enemy."

Asked what he thinks about an increasing number of people joining the "Garibaldi" unit, Captain Dragan said: "We support that and we will treat them as our own fighters. This is not only moral but also material support for us."

He also spoke of the growing forces in Italy that support the idea of Istria and part of Dalmatia being returned to Italy. "Members of the Garibaldi unit have been fighting with us for the realization of that idea and for our independence," Captain Dragan concluded.

RSK Rejects Inclusion in Croatia

LD1810162893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1346 GMT 18 Oct 93

[Text] Knin, October 18 (TANJUG)—At the future internationally-mediated negotiations, the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) will "reject all demands for the inclusion of the RSK state territory into Croatia," said RSK Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic on Monday [18 October] in advising to this effect the co-chairmen of the former Yugoslavia conference.

Bjegovic wrote to Co-Chairmen Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg that the RSK Parliament's decision on Sunday was binding for the RSK negotiators.

The parliament also decided that all bilateral and multilateral agreements to be signed by the RSK state or by its delegations would be valid only upon parliamentary endorsement.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed by Serbs in the territories of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where they are majority population, as their response to Croatia's violent secession from former Yugoslav Federation. The Zagreb authorities do not recognize Krajina and continue to consider it their own territory, while the Krajina Serbs claim that their state was formed, like Croatia, as a result of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia.

The RSK territory was declared a United Nations Protected Area (UNPA) in the spring of last year, on account of clashes between the Krajina Serbs and Croats.

In his letters to Owen and Stoltenberg, Bjegovic recalls that Serb medieval states and also Krajina's autonomy in the latter centuries within the ancient Venetian republic and the Austria-Hungary empire are the basis for the Krajina Serb people's sovereignty and for their state.

Serbia

Danica Draskovic Denies Opposition, Seselj Meeting

AU1910100693 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 93 p 5

[Report by D.S.: "Imputations From the Old Kitchen"]

[Text] I have not planted any information on BORBA, let alone insisted that it be published without revealing where the information came from.

Danica Draskovic, wife of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] leader and a member of this party's main committee, with these words to our paper denied the news recently published in BORBA—which according to this daily were conveyed to the public precisely by Danica Draskovic—that "the leader of the SRS [the Serbian Radical Party] Vojislav Seselj had invited Vuk Draskovic and Vojislav Kostunica for secret talks to agree the overthrow of Sainovic's cabinet and the formation of a new one."

"Everything that is happening now, which BORBA is supporting and is launching to the public, is merely a realization of the old objective of the Socialist Party of Serbia to eliminate its biggest rivals Vojislav Seselj and Vuk Draskovic," Danica Draskovic claims. "The Socialists have moved openly against Seselj and now also against Vuk. The attacks on both men are simultaneous and the aim is to liquidate both parties. The aim is to initially destroy the Radicals and simultaneously weaken the SPO in order to finally crush them in the second phase. However, I must say that this will never happen."

Asked why such seeds of division are sprouting precisely in BORBA, a newspaper that used to be very much in favor of the SPO, Danica Draskovic answers:

"It is well known that Slavko Curuvija, the current chief and responsible editor of BORBA, previously worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in a sector in charge of launching disinformation. He is obviously continuing this job and has been appointed to this post in BORBA with a mission. The readers of this paper have definitely noticed that disinformation has appeared exclusively about the SPO ever since Curuvija became the chief of BORBA."

Danica Draskovic then asks:

"How has it come about that a paper that used to habitually lack funds has suddenly begun to enjoy a perfectly good financial situation?" She explains this with a claim that the Socialist Party of Serbia and the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia are "BORBA's financiers and mentors," who are now also "insisting on the attacks against the Serbian Renewal Movement."

"I have not read BORBA ever since Curuvija was appointed chief and responsible editor and I have not even read their editorial response," Danica Draskovic says at the end.

Macedonia

Germany Allegedly Pressures Greece on Recognition

AU1810180793 Skopje MIC in English 18 Oct 93

[Unattributed report: "Bonn Applies Pressure for Recognition of Macedonia"]

[Text] "Germany will ask the Greek Foreign Minister Papulias to 'clarify the Greek stance regarding the diplomatic recognition of Macedonia' before the EEC meeting on 28 October in Brussels", according to the Greek newspaper KATIMERINI.

The same source says that the Greek government will not be given an ultimatum, but will be asked to show "greater interest" in the negotiations than before.

Montenegro

'Chaos' Foreseen in Relations Among Serbs

AU1810112993 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 8 Oct 93 pp 10-11

[Commentary by Vladimir Jovanovic: "Uproar Over the Government"]

[Text] As if responding to orders, after the attack by the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] on Vojislav Seselj, the whole of the Belgrade opposition has also launched a decisive assault on the leader of the Serbian Radicals. Such efforts are building up Slobodan Milosevic's standing among the people, while the opposition has again run aground, this time on the rebounding "Seselj effect." Someone rushed in (probably all of them) because it was erroneously perceived that the war in Bosnia was abating.

The unprecedented media campaign against Seselj will soon reply to the question of the size of his remaining political influence, but many indications already unambiguously show that despite everything the number of Seselj's supporters has not fallen below 20 percent of the total electorate of Serbia. Milosevic is endeavoring to use the attacks on him to leave the impression of having broken with a war policy, a policy of retribution and crime. He is aiming to destroy the coalition that has functioned ever since the rigged campaign for the election of the Rakovica people's deputy to the Serbian Assembly (Summer 1991) and to split the SRS [Serbian Radical Party] and alienate it from the main political arena. After seven days of serious attacks broadcast on the television, there is no indication that Milosevic has significantly destroyed Seselj, but that does not mean that he will not.

Many people are faced with a Hamlet-like dilemma over whether to join the assault on the duke or not because they do not want to be linked in this way to the Serbian President, but it seems that the present situation is not being viewed in its entirety. Much is being planned in Belgrade in the next few weeks on the basis of the erroneous assumption that the war in Bosnia is all but over. Many people are forgetting the question of the Serbian regions in Croatia as if it has been resolved. The Croats, of course, do not think so and precisely this may be an essential element in deciphering the future political movements in Belgrade.

Karadzic's Decision

Without a doubt Seselj's decision to initiate a parliamentary procedure for bringing down the government of Nikola Sainovic was preceded by the report that there was a plan to scrap the Serbian Government and the Montenegrin Government with, most probably, imminent elections. This should be seen in the context of the centralization undertaken by the Milosevic authorities, which would also take in the territories over the Drina. However, the latest events in Bosnia (the decision of the Bosnian Parliament on conditional acceptance of the peace plan and the Serbs' refusal to give the already given concessions) have changed matters considerably. The problems in Serbia are increasing, particularly the existential problems, and a new political force on the domestic scene cannot be created in parallel with the war in Bosnia, although everyone is now trying to put themselves in the political center. The continuation of the war brings the possibility of chaos, and Milosevic cannot await this with Seselj round his neck. By attacking him, Milosevic destroys many of the duke's support bases within the state, police, and military apparatus, and reserves solely for himself the command position in the possible introduction of a state of war. He is thus expanding his room for maneuver and strengthening flexibility in relation to any possible outcome in Bosnia.

Radovan Karadzic [leader of the Bosnian Serbs] made an appearance only after three weeks, and on the day after Milosevic's attack on Seselj said, through the Belgrade media, that "no one from Belgrade is behind the events in Banja Luka," thus distancing himself from the leader of the Serbian Radicals. The Banja Luka revolt has now created an opposing force to Karadzic among the Bosnian Serbs, under Milosevic's control, which is forcing Karadzic to follow instructions from official Belgrade and to abandon greater political pretensions. War naturally implies logistical support, as well as purely military support, and the Serbs in Bosnia can only get this from Milosevic, and any strains on the situation with him could cost the present leaders in Pale dear.

Fundamental Criticism

The possibility that the sanctions against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] will remain through this winter too is already quite certain and by all accounts this could complicate the domestic scene. Chaos not only suits Seselj but could serve as a good excuse for Dedinje to introduce a state of emergency. This issue is one of a momentary political assessment because the number of supporters of such a decision is growing in Serbia.

Such a development would pose the dilemma of whether the state of emergency would also apply to Montenegro or whether it would be restricted to Serbia, where the Constitution envisages that the President of Serbia can introduce such a state, thereby dissolving the republican parliament. The question of a constitutional crisis between Serbia and Montenegro would therefore be raised. But this is the less likely occurrence because the law on defense now allows the possibility of suspending the decisions of the Montenegrin Assembly, while it is clear that a probable continuation of the war (perhaps even with Croatia) draws Montenegro into a new tragedy.

This makes more significant Karadzic's statement that the unification of the "three Serbian states" (Montenegro is implied) is now being openly considered, which is being preceded by several months spent creating a single front of the leading Serbian politicians headed by academicians, priests, and good-for-nothing Montenegrins. A critical review of the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Art and Science [of 1986] is being written although it is clear that this involves a new "Serbian protocol."

Open anti-Montenegrin feeling is growing in Belgrade and last week's events in Cetinje are seen as an important argument in favor of the idea of the rise of "Montenegrin militant nationalism." Among other things, it can be heard on Belgrade public transport that Montenegrins are selling Serbian corn to the Albanians and are stealing Serbia's pension fund in order to increase their own pensions. An atmosphere of latent panic prevails and the main television evening news program has a growing audience.

Ratko Bozovic, professor at Belgrade University, said last Friday on Independent Television's "Studio B" that "the people did not enter the political scene but obedient subjects did." This is one of the few voices of fundamental criticism of the results of Milosevic's populism, but the irresistible impression prevails that in their internal uproar the Serbs are losing their bearings even more and that the chances of something being put right in this respect are nil.

How easy and enchanting everything looked at the beginning of the six-year journey into madness.

[Box, p 10]

Kertes' Back

The statement by the Main Committee of the SPS is significant not only because of the beginning of clashes between the ultranationalists, but also because Milosevic has thus for the first time (officially) admitted the existence of crimes committed by the Serbian side. This has so far been energetically denied while the presentation of information on crimes was viewed as being akin to

national betrayal. Laying the crimes only at the door of Seselj and his followers indicates a great clash—the insurmountable problem is that the previous coalition implied joint participation in crimes. It is impossible to accuse Seselj of crimes and to avoid, for example, putting in the same context the head of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, Mihajl Kertes, and his activities in arming the Serbian parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina (at a time of peace), his organization of the infiltration of paramilitary groups into Croatia and Bosnia, the formation of the "red berets," links with the underground in Belgrade, above all with [Zeljko Raznjatovic] Arkan, and trading in the gold stolen from Muslims in eastern Bosnia. However, we are already at that level of the story where the number of names sharply increases. It is superfluous to talk about the action to ethnically cleanse Hrtkovci.

Kertes is now a minister in Sainovic's government (without portfolio), he is also a member of the SPS, and a close colleague of Milosevic, so it is clear that an accusation against Kertes for participating in or aiding crimes would directly strike at the governing structure of the Serbian state. This is in fact a key question.

[Box, p 11]

Seselj and UDBA [state security service]

In its last edition MONITOR pointed out the possibility of a rift within the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia and in the Serbian UDBA, and this suspicion has been backed up by some new details. Thus, General Stevanovic's retirement ceremony, which was a closed event, was attended by Jovica Stanisic, leader of the Serbian UDBA, and Radovan Stojsic, an assistant minister of the Serbian police. Their presence acquired all the more significance the more it was noticed that officers of the Counterintelligence Service from the General Staff were absent from the same event. This can be viewed within the context of the latest quarrels between Seselj and Milosevic, since General Stevanovic's orientation was well known before.

Stanisic's possible support for Seselj should nevertheless be viewed through the prism of the attack—which was fierce even for Seselj—on Radmilo Bogdanovic at a session of the federal parliament two weeks ago. Seselj announced that by presenting details of the Banja Luka revolt he had "cut the Socialists to the quick" but it was clear that he could only have been given the names of security officers in the army of the "republic of Srpska" by someone who was very well informed. After the departure of General Boskovic this would be very difficult for anyone in the Counterintelligence Service to do. The question should be asked: "Where is Stanisic and part of the UDBA in all this?"

Seselj's links with the Serbian UDBA are not of course a particularly new discovery, but if they were brought out into the open this would be important for Montenegro, especially because of the Pljevlje events last year, the shooting at a bus of Muslims, and the (arranged) arrest of Ceko Dacevic on 17 June. However, how can this be done by ensuring that individuals in the Montenegrin government and, of course, Milosevic himself remain clean?